THE

LIVES

OF THE

ENGLISH REGICIDES,

AND OTHER

COMMISSIONERS

OF THE PRETENDED

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE,

Appointed to sit in Judgment upon their Sovereign,

KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

By the Reverend MARK NOBLE, F. A. S. of L. and E.

RECTOR OF BARMING, IN KENT, AND
DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO GEORGE EARL OF LEICESTER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1798.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE

REGICIDES OF *FRANCE.*

GENTLEMEN,

It is uſual on this ſide of the water to dedicate our volumes to thoſe who, from ſome peculiar circumſtances, they are moſt appropriate. None of my friends can have any claim upon me to ſubſcribe this work to them—I croſs the channel, and give them to the world under your names; more tremendous ones cannot be found.

You have copied the worſt tranſaction recorded in our annals; and have the ſupreme infamy of having far exceeded thoſe whoſe lives are here given:

Preparatory to the murder of your own gracious ſovereign, you printed the mock trial of our unhappy monarch. You will now alſo ſee, as a prelude to your own fate, that of King Charles I.'s judges.

GENTLEMEN, you may learn, from peruſing theſe volumes, that if any of you, actuated either by a ſincere repentance, by a real wiſh to ſtop the farther effuſion of Gallic blood, or deſire to procure your pardon, the enjoyment of what you have obtained, you may, like ſome of the Engliſh Regicides, make your peace by tendering your influence in bringing back your KING. By doing which you can only eſcape having your names loaded with all that deteſtation which has attended ſuch of theſe, your wicked preceptors, who neglected the only mean of averting ſo dreadful a misfortune.

Wiſhing you the ſpirit of repentance, and that ſo ſincere and effective as to obtain the pardon of God and man, of your exiled virtuous ſovereign, and of the King of kings,——in doing thus, I cannot better evince to you, that, though I deteſt your crimes,

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your real Friend,

The AUTHOR.

5th Jan. 1798.

PREFACE.

EUROPE in the middle of the laſt century ſaw one of the moſt ancient and moſt illuſtrious thrones overturned, and the mighty monarch who had ſat upon it ignominiouſly led from a priſon, to a pretended tribunal, and from thence hurried to a premature grave. In theſe our days we have witneſſed the ſame deplorable tragedy, a cataſtrophe that has ſtained the annals of France, and its effects crimſoned the chriſtian hemiſphere; theſe two ſad diſaſters

will be deplored as long as the hiſtoric page remains.

In writing the memoirs of the Cromwells, I made many minutes of thoſe men's lives, who dared to ſteep their hands in their ſovereign's blood; the preſent day demands of all men to hold up their crimes, and their puniſhment, to ſhew the deſerved deteſtation their contemporaries and poſterity did, and ſtill do, entertain for them and their memories.

Their hiſtories are an awful leſſon to the regicides of France, and to an abandoned faction at home who are linked with them in intereſt and affection. "There is a way that "ſeemeth good unto a man, but the end there-"of is death." Every true Briton in vindicating the juſt prerogatives of his ſovereign protects his own rights, for by ſo doing he defends the conſtitution.

In writing theſe lives I have ſeparated the man from the crime: I have traduced none, how guilty ſoever; I have ſpoken from the plaineſt facts. I have written of them not from what their enemies have given us, but chiefly from the public records, from ſtate papers, from ſuch authorities that cannot be called in queſtion. To give my authorities to every circumſtance would have been uſeleſs; ſuch who have read my memoirs of the Cromwells, will ſee whence I have taken my materials; and to what appears there may be added many topographical and other books. It may here however be remarked that the authority is often given in the body of the work.

Some of the commiſſioners of the high court of juſtice, as it was impiouſly called, have been noticed in the Cromwell memoirs; what is here given of them is mentioned only, to make the preſent volumes the more perfect, unleſs new

information could be detailed, and which often is the caſe.

Theſe characters now offered to the public, include, with theſe in the work juſt ſpoken of, moſt of the remarkable ones which occur amongſt the republican party during the uſurpation.

Theſe kingdoms were ruined by religious fanaticiſm, by hypocritical pretences to piety. France by an open contempt for all revelation.

Let us guard our religion, our laws, and our country, and then we may bid defiance to hoſts of canting devotees, and legions of pretended philoſophers.

Let us be content with enjoying the RIGHTS of the goſpel, and the juſt and equal laws of the land, and never barter them for the tinſel de-

corations of the modern regicides, nor the ſanctified profligacy of the former ones. Let us be content with God's mercies to us, a favoured people, and ſtrive by holineſs and virtue, to merit ſtill greater.

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INTRODUCTION.

IT will be impoſſible for the reader to underſtand the ſubſequent pages without firſt giving him ſome idea of the circumſtances which occaſioned the crime of regicide. I ſhall, therefore, compendiouſly mention the facts which preceded that dreadful crime, and alſo what was chiefly done in the different days that the pretended High Court of Juſtice ſat; ſubjoining alſo the names of thoſe LEGAL Judges before whom the regicides were brought at the reſtoration, with ſome other matters relative to them.

The Houſe of Commons, January 3, 1647-8, reſolved, that no farther addreſſes ſhould be made to the king by themſelves, nor by any other, without leave of both Houſes of Parliament, and thoſe that did ſhould incur the penalty of High Treaſon; and they declared they would receive no more meſſages from his majeſty, and enjoined, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould receive, or bring any meſſage from him, to both or either of the Houſes, or to any other perſon; and on January the fifteenth following, the Lords concurred in theſe votes.

On the ſeventeenth of Auguſt 1648, the Commons agreed with the Peers, that theſe votes for non-addreſſes ſhould be revoked.

On the twentieth of November 1648, the army preſented their remonſtrance to the Parliament, for bringing delinquents to juſtice.

On the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, the treaty of the Iſle of Wight was voted to continue until the twenty-ſeventh.

On the firſt of December Denzil Hollis, Eſq., afterwards Lord Hollis, preſented an account of the treaty with the king.

On the ſame day the Parliament received information of his majeſty's being removed from Cariſbrook Caſtle to Hurſt Caſtle.

On the fifth of this month the king's anſwer to the propoſitions furniſhed a ground for the Houſe to proceed upon, for the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom.

On the next day, the members who were known averſe to the intereſt of the army, and would not aſſiſt in deſtroying the king, were prevented from going to the Houſe of Commons, and many of them impriſoned.

On the ſeventh of this ſame month the Houſe of Commons, garbled as it was, appointed a day of humiliation, preparatory to their infamous wickedneſs, and ſelected Hugh Peters, Caryl, and Marſhal, to perform this hypocritical ſervice.

The Commons voted, that the revoking their former votes "for non-addreſſes to the king, for a treaty to be opened with his majeſty, and that

his anſwers to the propoſitions were a ground for peace," were diſhonourable and deſtructive.

On the twenty-third a committee was appointed to conſider how to proceed, in a way of juſtice, againſt the king, and other capital offenders.

On the twenty-eighth an ordinance for trial of the king was read.

On January the firſt, 1648-9, it was declared and adjudged by the Commons, that by the fundamental laws of the land it is treaſon in the king of England, for the time being, to levy war againſt the Parliament and Kingdom.

On the following day, the Lords diſagreed to this vote, and threw it out, and the ordinance for trial of the king, *nemine contradicente*.

On the next day, the ſame vote was again put to the queſtion in the garbled Houſe of Commons, and carried in the affirmative.

On the fourth of January, Mr. Gurland preſented a new ordinance for erecting an High Court of Juſtice for trial of the king, which was read the firſt, ſecond, and third time, aſſented to, and paſſed the ſame day, and ordered that no copy ſhould be delivered.

Same day it was reſolved, that the People are, under God, the original of all juſt powers.

That themſelves, being choſen by, and repreſenting, the People, have the ſupreme power in the nation.

That whatever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in Parliament, hath the face of a law, and the people concluded thereby, though

the conſent of the King and the Peers be not had thereunto.

On the ſixth of that month, the commiſſioners for the trial of the king were ordered to meet upon Monday following, at two o'clock, in the Painted Chamber.

The days of ſitting of the High Court of Juſtice were the eighth, tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, fifteenth, ſeventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-ſecond, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-ſixth, twenty-ſeventh, and twenty-ninth of January.

They met in the Painted Chamber on Monday, January the eighth, when they choſe Mr. Aſke, Dr. Doriſlaus, Mr. Steel, and Mr. Cooke, councellors; Meſſrs. Greaves and John Phelps, clerks; Meſſrs. Edward Walford, John Powel, John King, Phineas Payne, and — Hull, meſſengers.

They alſo ſent out their precept under their hands and ſeals for proclaiming their court in Weſtminſter-Hall, to be held in the Painted Chamber on the tenth of that month: which precept is all in Mr. Ireton's hand-writing.

On Tueſday the ninth, the commiſſioners ordered that proclamation ſhould be made in Cheapſide and in the Old Exchange; and APPOINTED A COMMITTEE to conſider of the matter of government, about making a new great ſeal; and reſpecing the not uſing the name of a ſingle perſon.

On Wedneſday the tenth, they choſe Meſſrs. Walford and Vowell, uſhers; and Mr. Litchman, a meſſenger; Serjeant Bradſhaw, then abſent, was

elected preſident; they alſo appointed Mr. Say, who was preſent, preſident, *pro tempore*, until Bradſhaw ſhould attend. The commiſſioners, at the ſame time, thanked Mr. Garland for the great pains he had taken about the buſineſs of the court. Mr. Greaves was excuſed from attending, becauſe engaged in other avocations for the public, and for that reaſon Mr. Andrew Broughton was appointed in his room. Aſke, Steel, Doriſlaus, and Cooke, were named council for the Commonwealth; Steel to be attorney, and Cooke, ſolicitor. Meſſrs. Love, L'Iſle, Millington, Garland, Marten, Thomas Challoner, Sir John Danvers, and Sir Henry Mildmay, or any two of them, were nominated to conduct the carrying on the buſineſs of preparation. Dendy, their ſerjeant, certified to the commiſſioners his having made due proclamation; who, in reward, appointed him their ſerjeant at arms during the trial, and gave Mr. John King the office of cryer to the court. The doors were then thrown open, proclamations were thrice made, and the abſent commiſſioners were ordered to be ſummoned.

On Friday the twelfth, Serjeant Bradſhaw profeſſed to decline being preſident, but his apology was not accepted: and Broughton and John Phelpes, gentlemen, were conſtituted clerks, and ordered to attend. Leave was given to ſearch all public offices for papers and books, with power to ſend for, and command every perſon they judged neceſſary, to attend. Sir Hardreſs Waller and Colonel Harriſon were ordered to deſire the

Lord General to appoint ſufficient guards. Cols. Titchbourne and Rowe, aud Meſſrs. Blackſtone and Fry were deputed to ſee that the trial ſhould be performed in a ſolemn manner; and they were permitted to appoint workmen. At this time Mr. Love made his report from the ſecret commitee, and, in conſequence, ſome regulations were agreed upon. Sir Hardreſs Waller, Colonel Whaley, Mr. Scot, Colonel Titchbourne, Colonel Harriſon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and Colonel Deane, were appointed to conſider of the place of trial, and make their report the next day. The charge againſt the king was ordered to be brought in on Monday.

On Saturday the thirteenth, the court ſat privately, when the Serjeant at Arms was ordered to appoint other meſſengers, he giving in their names. The vaults under the Painted Chamber were directed to be ſearched for fear of any ſecret treachery towards the commiſſioners. Upon Mr. Garland's report, it was decreed that the trial of the king ſhould be where the courts of King's Bench and Chancery Courts were in Weſtminſter-Hall.

On Monday the fifteenth, the council brought in a draught of the charge againſt the king; when power was given to Commiſſary-General Ireton, Meſſrs. Millington and Marten, Colonel Harvey, Mr. Challoner, Colonel Harriſon, Meſſrs. Miles, Corbet, Scot, Love, L'Iſle, and Say, or any three of them, to adviſe, and compare evidence,

and to meet the next morning at eight o'clock in the queen's court.

Alſo ordered, that Colonels Ludlow, Purefoy, Hutchinſon, Scroop, Deane, Whalley, Huſon, Pride, Sir Hardreſs Waller, and Sir William Conſtable, together with the committee for making preparations for the trial, or any three of them, ſhould be a committee to conſider of the place where the king ſhould be kept during his trial, with other things relative to it, and they were directed to meet the next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, in the Inner Star Chamber. Mr. L'Iſle was at this time ordered to move the Houſe of Commons to adjourn the term for a fortnight.

On Thurſday the ſixteenth, Titchbourne delivered a petition to the Commons, in the name of the Commons of London, in common council, differing from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen: the ſubſtance of which was, a wiſh that the king might be brought to juſtice, which was ordered to be regiſtered in the books of the common council.

On Wedneſday the ſeventeenth, the charge againſt his majeſty was re-committed to the committee. The abſent members of the court were ſummoned to attend, who reſided within twenty miles of the capital. Upon the report of the committee, appointed to conſider of the manner of the trial, it was concluded upon, amongſt a variety of other circumſtances, that the king ſhould be lodged at the houſe of Sir Robert Cotton, and the Lord Preſident at Sir Abraham Williams'

houſe, in the New-Palace Yard; that Sir Henry Mildmay, and Mr. Holland, and Mr. Edwards, ſhould provide every thing neceſſary for both the king and the preſident. It was obſervable that it was alſo ordered, that "all back doors from the Houſe, called HELL, ſhould be ſhut up during the king's trial." John Humphreys, Eſq. was ordered to bear the ſword before the Lord Preſident.

Afterwards the court ſat private, when they ordered that their committee ſhould meet the next morning at eight o'clock, in the Exchequer Chamber.

On January the eighteenth, Colonel Titchbourne excuſed the abſence of Mr. Steel, who pleaded indiſpoſition, which was, he ſent word "a great affliction to him, as he wiſhed to manifeſt his affection to the cauſe."

On Friday the nineteenth, Colonel Hutchinſon from the committee, reported reſpecting the habits of the officers, when three gowns were ordered for the three uſhers, and three cloaks for the three meſſengers. Mr. Millington reported the charge and form of words for exhibiting it, which the attorney, or, in his abſence, the ſolicitor ſhould do. The ſergeant at arms was at this time ordered to ſecure Mr. Squibb's gallery.

On Saturday the twentieth, in the forenoon, the court ordered that Sir Henry Mildmay ſhould deliver the ſword of ſtate to Mr. Humphreys, that it might be borne before the Preſident. The ſolicitor preſented the charge, engroſſed, which

being read and ſigned by him, was returned to him to be exhibited, and the commiſſioners then adjourned to Weſtminſter Hall.

The court ſat private, when it was ordered amongſt other things, that if the priſoner ſhould, in language or carriage towards the court, be inſolent, outrageous, or contemptuous, that the Lord Preſident ſhould have power to reprehend him; but it was decreed, that the priſoner might be excuſed for putting off his hat that day. Mr. L'Iſle and Mr. Say, by the Lord Preſident's deſire, were to aſſiſt him, and for that purpoſe were ordered to ſit near his perſon.

Weſtminſter Hall. On Saturday the twentieth, in the afternoon, the king was brought in to this mock court by Colonel Tomlinſon, attended by Captain Hacker, and thirty-two partizans, when Cooke exhibited the charge; but his majeſty, not owning their authority, he was remanded, and the court adjourned until Monday. As the unhappy monarch returned, it was remarked that the people cried out GOD SAVE THE KING.

Painted chamber. On Monday the twenty-ſecond, in the forenoon, the commiſſioners paſſed a vote, approving what their preſident had done on Saturday, and they reſolved, that the king ſhould not be ſuffered to queſtion their juriſdiction.

Weſtminſter Hall. The ſame day, in the afternoon, Cooke prayed that the king be directed to anſwer, and if he refuſed, that the matter of the

charge be taken *pro confeſſio*. His majeſty this day, not owning their authority, was remanded.

Weſtminſter Hall. On Tueſday the twenty-third, in the afternoon, his majeſty, when brought before the commiſſioners, not owning their authority, was again remanded, and the court was adjourned to the Painted Chamber, and it was then reſolved that witneſſes againſt the king ſhould be examined.

Painted Chamber. On Wedneſday the twenty-fourth, the court ſpent their time in examining witneſſes.

Thoſe who were produced againſt their ſovereign were,

Henry Hartford, of Stratford upon Avon, in Warwickſhire.

Edward Roberts, of Biſhop's Caſtle, Shropſhire, ironmonger.

William Braynes, of Wixhall, in Shropſhire, gentleman.

Robert Lucy, of the town and county of Nottingham, painter.

Robert Loades, of Cottam, in Nottinghamſhire, tailor.

Samuel Morgan, of Wellington, in Shropſhire, felt maker.

James Williams, of Roſs, in Herefordſhire, ſhoemaker.

Michael Potts, of Sharpereton, in Northumberland, vintner.

Giles Gryce, of Wellington, in Shropſhire, gent.

William Arnop, not examined.

John Vinſon, of Damerham, in Wiltſhire, gent.
George Seely, of London, cordwainer.
Thomas Ives, of Boyſel, in Northamptonſhire, huſbandman.
James Croſby, of Dublin, in Ireland, barber.
Thomas Rawlins, of Hanſlop, in Buckinghamſhire, gentleman.
Richard Bloomfield, citizen and weaver of London, aged 35.
John Thomas, of Llangollen, in Denbighſhire, huſbandman, aged 25.
Samuel Lawſon, of Nottingham, maltſter, aged 30.
John Pyneger, of the pariſh of Fainer, in Derbyſhire, yeoman.
George Cornwal, of Aſton, in Herefordſhire, ferryman, aged about 50.
Thomas Whittington, of the town and county of Nottingham, ſhoemaker, aged 22.
William Jones, of Uſke, in Monmouthſhire, huſbandman, aged 22.
Humphrey Browne, of Whitſondine, in Rutlandſhire, huſbandman, aged 22.
Arthur Young, citzen and barber, chirurgeon of London, aged 29.
David Evans, of Abergavenny, in Monmouthſhire, ſmith, aged 23.
Diogenes Edwards, of Carſton, in Shropſhire, butcher, aged 21.
Robert Williams, of the pariſh of St. Martin, in Cornwall, huſbandman, aged 23.
John Bennett, of Harwood, in Yorkſhire, glover.
Samuel Burden, of Lyneham, in Wiltſhire, gent.

William Cuthert, of Patrington, in Holderneſs, Yorkſhire, gentleman, aged 42.

John Moore, of the city of Cork, in Ireland, gentleman.

Thomas Read, of Maidſtone, in Kent, gent.

Henry Gooche, of Gray's Inn, in Middleſex, gentleman*.

At the ſame time Meſſrs. Millington and Thomas Challoner were ordered to go to John Brown, Eſq. clerk of the Houſe of Peers, to ſearch for papers in his cuſtody.

Painted Chamber. On Thurſday the twenty-fourth, in the afternoon, the court examined another witneſs,

Richard Price, of London, Scrivener.

Mr. Thomas Challoner at this time produced ſome of the king's letters. After which, the court ſat private; when it was reſolved to proceed to ſentence of condemnation againſt their ſovereign, and that this ſhould be decreed for his being "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the commonwealth," and alſo that this condemnation ſhould be extended to death.

And it was ordered that a ſentence, grounded upon theſe votes, be prepared by Meſſrs. Scot, Marten, Colonel Harriſon, Mr. L'Iſle, Mr. Say, Commiſſary-general Ireton, and Mr. Love, or any three of them; but a blank was ordered

* Theſe witneſſes were generally royaliſts, who had ſerved in the army of his majeſty, but were now compelled to appear at his pretended trial.

to be left for the manner of the royal ſufferer's death.

It was decreed at this court that ſummonſes ſhould be iſſued to ſuch members as were abſent.

Painted Chamber. On Saturday the twenty-ſeventh, in the forenoon, the ſentence having been ingroſſed, the court reſolved, that the ſame ſhould be what was to be read and publiſhed in Weſtminſter Hall the ſame day.

That the preſident ſhould not permit the king to ſpeak after ſentence.

That after the ſentence ſhould be read, he ſhould declare it to be the ſenſe and judgment of the court.

That the commiſſioners ſhould, to ſhew their conſent, all ſtand up.

The ſame day the Commons ordered the clerk to bring in the records of that judgement to the Houſe.

Weſtminſter Hall. The ſame day, in the afternoon, the king being brought in, and not owning their authority, the ſentence was read.

Upon the declaration of the preſident that it was the judgement of the court, the commiſſioners ſtood up and owned it, and adjourned to the Painted Chamber.

Whilſt there, they appointed Sir Hardreſs Waller, Colonel Harriſon, Commiſſary-general Ireton, and Colonels Dean and Okey, to conſider of the time and place for execution.

This day the king, by the procurement of the officers, was groſsly inſulted by the ſoldiers and

rabble in coming to, and in returning from, Weſtminſter Hall, but ſilently pitied and lamented by the people.

Painted Chamber. On Monday the twenty-ninth, upon the report of the committee, it was ordered that a warrant ſhould be drawn for executing the king, in the open ſtreet, before Whitehall, the next day, and the court directed it; Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Hunks, and Lieutenant-colonel Phayre, which was done accordingly.

It was alſo ordered, that Colonel John White, or any other officer in the Tower, in whoſe poſſeſſion it was, ſhould deliver "the bright execution axe for the executing malefactors."

Painted Chamber. On January the thirtieth, in the forenoon, it was ordered that Meſſrs. Marſhall, Nye, Caryl, Salway, and Dell, be deſired to attend the king, to adminiſter to him thoſe ſpiritual helps which were ſuitable to his condition, and Lieutenant-colonel Goffe was directed to give them notice.

The king told them, that as they had often ſo needleſsly preached againſt him, they ſhould not now, in his agony, pray with him, but if they pleaſed, they might pray for him, and he would be obliged to them. Biſhop Juxon gave the royal ſufferer the conſolations of religion.

It was ordered that the ſcaffold ſhould be covered with black. This, not having been before thought of, made a delay, and kept the unhappy ſovereign at Whitehall, where he heard the noiſe

of the hammers in completing the ſad preparations.

Thus was a mighty monarch of three nations publicly murdered in his own capital before one of his own palaces, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

Painted Chamber. The ſame day in the afternoon Colonel Harriſon, Colonel Okey, Mr. Carey, (Carew) Colonel Deane, Mr. Allen, Mr. Scott, Colonel Titchbourne, Mr. Holland, Colonel Wanton, Colonel James Temple, Colonel Ludlow, Mr. Mayne, Colonel Rowe, or any five of them, were authoriſed to give warrants for the payment of ſuch ſums of money as ſhould be adjudged neceſſary, through the hands of Captain John Blackwell; and Colonel Titchbourne was directed to take particular care of it.

On January the thirty-firſt it was ordered by the Commons, that Lord Grey, out of Haberdaſhers' Hall, ſhould diſpoſe of the ſum of one hundred pounds for the ſervice of the Commonwealth.

Painted Chamber. On February the firſt it was ordered, that Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe, Colonel Ewers, Colonel Pride, Sir Hardreſs Waller, together with the reſt of the committee of accounts, ſhould be appointed to take the examination of William Evans, gentleman, and of all others, for words, or actions done, or ſpoken againſt the court, with power to examine papers, letters, or writings.

Painted Chamber. On the ſecond it was ordered, that Captain Blackwell pay ſuch ſums as were ſtill owing for expences relative to the court, and that the next morning he ſhould deliver in an exact account to the committee at Whitehall.

John Hall, upon the evidence of Thomas Maurice, William Hitch, and Thomas Baxter, were committed to the cuſtody of the Marſhal-General of the army, for having been in a deſign againſt the court.

As were Mr. Nelſon and Mr. Evans, upon the evidence of John Minſhaw, Mary Minſhaw, John White, and John Haydon, clerk; and Colonel Moore was appointed to acquaint the Houſe therewith.

The Lord Preſident moved that the guards be paid for their careful fidelity, and their cheerfulneſs in attending.

Colonel Titchbourne reported, that the committee had conſidered of what gratuity ſhould be given to every officer and attendant of the court; which being approved of, Colonel Harriſon was ordered to move the Houſe to ſatisfy the ſame.

Mr. Garland, Mr. L'Iſle, Sir Hardreſs Waller, Mr. Say, Commiſſary-general Ireton, Mr. Marten, and Mr. Scott, or any three of them, were ordered to peruſe and conſider of the ſubſtance of the court's proceedings, and prepare them to be preſented to the Houſe of Commons; and Mr. Say was ordered to preſent it.

By the expiration of the month, the time, in the act of parliament, limited for the commiſſion

to hold the High Court of Juſtice, it became a non-entity, after completing the nefarious purpoſes for which it was inſtituted.

On the ſame day the Houſe of Commons ordered that, in the firſt place, ſhould be taken into conſideration, and debate of the Houſe of Lords, for a ſettlement of the government.

On the ſixth, the Houſe, containing only ſeventy-three members, had this queſtion argued, "Whether that Houſe ſhould take the advice of the Houſe of Lords in the exerciſe of the legiſlative power?" when the Houſe dividing, it was carried in the negative by fifteen voices.

And it was then reſolved, that "the Houſe of Peers was uſeleſs and dangerous, and ought to be aboliſhed;" and they ordered that an act ſhould be brought in for that purpoſe.

On the ſeventh, the Commons declared that "the office of a king in a nation, and to have power thereof in a ſingle perſon, was unneceſſary, burdenſome, and dangerous to the liberty, ſafety, and public intereſt of the people, and therefore ought to be aboliſhed."

On the ninth, it was ordered, that the narrative of the proceeding, and records for trial of the king, be forthwith brought into the houſe.

On the ſixteenth, it was ordered, that the clerk of the High Court of Juſtice ſhould be deſired to bring in thoſe proceedings to their houſe the next day.

On March the ——— Sir Arthur Heſelrigge reported from the committee, that Charles and

James Stuart, ſons of the late king, ſhould die without mercy, whereſoever they ſhould be found.

On December the twelfth, 1650, Mr. Say reported to the Houſe of Commons the proceedings of the High Court againſt the king, contained in a book entituled, "A Journal," &c., which was read at large by their clerk.

He likewiſe preſented from that court the act for trial of the king, and the precept for holding the court. The charge was exhibited the twentieth, and the ſentence read the twenty-ſeventh of January 1648; and thereupon the Houſe declared,

"That the perſons inſtructed in that great ſervice had diſcharged their truſt with great courage and fidelity:

"That the Parliament was well ſatisfied in that account of the particulars and proceedings."

And the Houſe ordered, that "the ſame records do remain amongſt the records of Parliament; that thoſe proceedings be engroſſed in a roll, and recorded amongſt the parliament rolls, for tranſmitting the memory thereof to poſterity."

And the Houſe reſolved, that "their commiſſioners for the great ſeal iſſue a certiorari to their clerk to tranſmit thoſe proceedings into the Chancery, there to be on record.

"And that the ſame be ſent by mittamus from thence to other courts at Weſtminſter, and the cuſtos rotulorum of the counties, to be recorded."

I have now ſtated the whole of this moſt criminal proceeding againſt the ſovereign: I ſhall next

as conciſely ſhew how, when the kingdoms were reſtored to their legitimate government, thoſe chiefly implicated in the crime of murdering the king were brought to juſtice, at leaſt ſuch of them as could be ſeized.

On February the twenty-firſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-nine-ſixty, General Monk came to Whitehall attended by the ſecluded members, to whom he gave a guard to introduce them again into the Parliament; upon which the chief of the independent faction withdrew.

On the ſixteenth of March, the long parliament, in deriſion called the Rump, releaſed all the royaliſts; repealed the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart, and all the royal family; appointed a new council of ſtate; made great changes in the London militia; abrogated the engagement to be true and faithful to the commonwealth without a king, or houſe of peers; and then diſſolved themſelves, ſummoning in their room a free parliament, compoſed of a Houſe of Peers, and a Houſe of Commons.

On the twenty-fifth of April both Houſes of Parliament met in Weſtminſter Abbey; and after hearing a ſermon went to their reſpective Houſes, and each choſe their ſpeaker.

On the firſt of May Sir John Granville preſented his Majeſty's gracious letters and declarations to the two Houſes of Parliament, and others to the General and Admiral; upon which the Houſes voted, that the government ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons; at the ſame time the Houſe

of Commons voted the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds for his Majeſty's immediate uſe.

On the third, the city of London and the fleet declared for the king.

On the ſeventh, the late ſovereign's ſtatue was ſet up again in Guildhall, and the Commonwealth's arms were taken down.

On the eighth, the king was ſolemnly proclaimed, at which both Houſes of Parliament aſſiſted, both in London, and at Weſtminſter: this was accompanied with a univerſal joy, ſuch as had never been known; and it ſpread through every part of the kingdom, each perſon congratulating his friend and his neighbour in the hope of ſpeedily being relieved from anarchy, confuſion, ſlavery, and every kind of impiety, which had been practiſed under the maſk of a ſanctified hypocriſy.

On the twenty-fifth, the king and his brothers landed at Dover, and his majeſty was met by General Monk, whom he raiſed and embraced.

On the twenty-ninth, the monarch made his triumphal entry into London; and it being his majeſty's birth day the rejoicings were doubly great.

On the thirty-firſt, both Houſes of Parliament accepted the pardon offered by the king in his declaration, dated at Breda.

On June the firſt an act paſſed conſtituting the convention a parliament.

On the ſixth a proclamation was iſſued to command the Regicides to ſurrender themſelves within

fourteen days, under the penalty of being excluded out of the act of indemnity.

Some of the chief republicans demanded the king's particular letters of pardon, which were granted to all of them who were not immediately concerned in the murder of his royal father.

On the twenty-ninth of Auguſt his majeſty in perſon paſſed the Bill of Indemnity, out of which were excepted for life and eſtate theſe perſons: Thomas Challoner, Eſq. Colonel Owen Rowe, Auguſtine Garland, Eſq. Colonel Harvey, Henry Smith, Eſq. Henry Marten, Eſq. Sir Hardreſs Waller, Knt. Colonel Adrian Scroop, John Carew, Eſq. Robert Titchbourne, Alderman, Colonel James Temple, Colonel Peter Temple, Colonel Thomas Wayte, Simon Mayne, Eſq. William Haveningham, Eſq. Colonel George Fleetwood, Alderman Iſaac Pennington, Colonel Robert Lilburne, Gilbert Millington, Eſq. Vincent Potter, Eſq. and John Downes, Eſq. Theſe had ſurrendered themſelves. Colonel Scroop and Mr. Carew were excluded the benefit of the act, by which, in caſe they were attainted, execution ſhould be ſuſpended, till the king, and the parliament ſhould order it.

Theſe were excepted abſolutely as to life and eſtate, Sir Michael Liveſey, John L'Iſle, Eſq. Lieutenant General Edmund Ludlow, William Say, Eſq. Commiſſary General Edward Whalley, Major General Thomas Harriſon, William Cawley, Eſq. Daniel Blagrave, Eſq. Cornelius Holland, Eſq. Gregory Clement, Eſq. Thomas Scot,

Eſq. Miles Corbet, Eſq. Nicholas Love, Eſq. Colonel Valentine Wanton, Colonel John Okey, Colonel John Hewſon, Colonel William Goffe, Colonel John Jones, Colonel John Dixwell, and Thomas Wogan, Eſq.

And theſe who had not been Judges, but officers in the Court. John Cooke, Eſq. Edward Dendy, Eſq. Serjeant at Arms, Andrew Broughton, William Hewlet, and Mr. Hugh Peters; who was the moſt infamous reptile that ever pretended to be a preacher of the goſpel.

The following Judges were attainted, though dead: Oliver Cromwell, Eſq. Henry Ireton, Eſq. Colonel Iſaac Ewer, Colonel William Purefoy, Colonel John Alured, Colonel Richard Deane, Colonel Thomas Horton, Major-General Philip Skippon, John Bradſhaw, Eſq. Preſident, Colonel Thomas Hammond, Colonel Thomas Pride, Sir John D'Anvers, Sir Thomas Mauleverer, Sir William Conſtable, Sir John Bourchier, Sir Gregory Norton, John Blakeſton, Eſq. Francis Allen, Eſq. Peregrine Pelham, Eſq. John Venn, Eſq. Thomas Andrews, Eſq. Anthony Stapley, Eſq. and John Fry, Eſq. All their eſtates, goods, rights, and truſts were forfeited.

The following were excepted from receiving any benefit from their eſtates, and ſubjected to ſuch farther puniſhments, as ſhould be inflicted upon them. Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harrington, Robert Wallop, Eſq. Lord Monſon, James Challoner, Eſq. and Mr. John Phelps.

Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Heſelrigge, and Major-General Lambert, were, as very dangerous and obnoxious characters, alſo excepted out of the act.

John Hutchiſon and Francis Laſſels were made incapable of exerciſing any office, and condemned to one year's forfeiture of the income of their eſtates.

October the ninth, the Regicides were indicted at Hicks's Hall.

On October the tenth, Sir John Robinſon, Knt. Lieutenant of the Tower, in compliance to the warrant directed to him, delivered to the Sheriffs the priſoners, who were in ſeveral coaches, with a ſtrong guard of horſe and foot, conveyed to Newgate, and about nine o'clock in the morning they were delivered to the keepers of that priſon, and thence brought to the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, London, where the Commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer were in the Court aſſembled, and where their indictment was publicly read, by Edward Sheldon, Eſq. Clerk of the Crown.

The Commiſſioners were.

Sir Thomas Allen, Knt. and Bart. Lord Mayor of London; Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England; the Earl of Southampton, Lord Treaſurer of England; the Dukes of Somerſet and Albemarle; the Marquis of Ormond, Steward of his Majeſty's Houſehold; the Earls of Dorſet, Berkſhire, and Sandwich; Viſcounts Say and Sele; Lords Robartes and Finch; Denzil Hollis, Eſq.

(afterwards Lord Hollis); Sir Frederic Cornwallis, Knt. and Bart. Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſehold; Sir Charles Berkley, Knt. Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſehold; Mr. Secretary Nichols, Mr. Secretary Morris; Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, (afterwards Earl of Shafteſbury), Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord Chief Baron; Juſtices, Sir Robert Foſter, Knt. Sir Thomas Mallet, Knt. Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, Sir Robert Hyde, Knt. Edward Atkins, as Baron of the Exchequer; Thomas Twiſden, Juſtice of the King's Bench; Thomas Tyrrel, a Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Chriſtopher Turner, a Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, Knt. and Bart. Sir William Wild, Knt. and Bart. Recorder of London; Mr. Serjeant Brown, Mr. Serjeant Hale; John Howel, Eſq. Sir Jeffery Salmer, his Majeſty's Attorney-General; Sir Heneage Finch, his Majeſty's Solicitor-General; Sir Edward Turner, Attorney to his Highneſs the Duke of York; and Wadham Windham, Eſq. Edward Shelton, Eſq. Clerk of the Crown.

The Grand Jury were, Sir William Darcy, Bart. Sir Edward Bowles, Bart. Sir Edward Ford, Knt. Sir Thomas Preſtwick, Sir William Coney, Knts. Sir Charles Sidley, Bart. Sir Lewis Kirk, Knt. Sir Henry Littleton, Bart. Sir Ralph Bovey, Bart. Edward Chard, Eſq. Robert Giddon, Eſq. John Fotherly, Eſq. Charles Gibbon, Eſq. Thomas Geree, Eſq. Richard Cox, Eſq. Robert Bladwell, Eſq. Henry Muſtian, Eſq. John Markham, Eſq. Edward Buckley, Gent. Francis Bourchier, Gent.

Edward Loleand; and—Hart was Crier of the Court.

The witneſſes were William Clark, Eſq. James Nutley, Eſq. Mr. George Maſterſon, Clerk, George Farringdon, Hercules Hunks, Dr. William King, Martin Foſter, John Baker, Stephen Kirk, Richard Nunnelly, John Powel, John Throgmorton, John Blackwel, Ralph Hardwick, Thomas Walkley, Gent. Holland Simpſon, Benjamin Francis, Colonel Matthew Tomlinſon, Mr. Lee, Robert Ewer, John King, Griffith Bodurdo, Eſq. Samuel Boardman, Robert Carr, Eſq. Richard Young, Sir Purbeck Temple, John Ruſhworth, Eſq. John Gerrard, John Hearn, Mr. Coitmore, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Clench, William Jeſſop, Eſq. Edward Auſtin,———Darnel, Eſq. Mr. Brown, Thomas Tongue, John Bowler, Mr. Sharp, Edward Trolley, Mr. Gouge, and Anthony Mildmay, Eſq.

This day Sir Hardreſs Waller, Thomas Harriſon, William Haveningham, Iſaac Pennington, Henry Marten, Eſqrs. Gilbert Millington, Gent. Robert Titchbourne, Owen Rowe, Robert Lilburne, Adrian Scroop, John Carew, John Jones, Thomas Scot, Gregory Clement, John Cooke, Edmund Harvey, Henry Smith, John Downes, Vincent Potter, Auguſtine Garland, George Fleetwood, Simon Mayne, James Temple, Thomas Waite, Eſqrs. Hugh Peters, Francis Hacker, Eſq. and Daniel Axtel, Eſq. were arraigned.

On the eleventh, being the following day, Thomas Harriſon, Adrian Scroop, John Carew, John

Jones, Gregory Clement, and Thomas Scot, challenging their jury, were tried ſeparately. Harriſon was this day found guilty, and ſentence was paſſed upon him.

On the twelfth, Meſſrs. Jones, Scroop, Scot, Clement, and Carew, were again brought to the bar, but challenging their jury, only Mr. Scroop and Mr. Carew were tried and convicted. Mr. Clement confeſſed the fact, and Mr. Jones was convicted.

On the fourteenth, Meſſrs. Cooke, Peters, Hacker, and Axtel, were ſet to the bar, and the two former convicted.

On the fifteenth, Major-general Harriſon and Mr. John Carew, were executed at Charing Croſs, fronting the Banquetting Houſe, where the late King had been inhumanly and traitorouſly murdered.

On the ſame day, Meſſrs. Axtel, Hewlet, alias Howlet, againſt whom an indictment had been found, October 12, at Hicks's Hall, were tried, as was Colonel Francis Hacker.

On the ſixteenth, Meſſrs. Pennington, Marten, Millington, Titchbourne, Rowe, Lilburne, Smith, Harvey, Downes, Potter, Garland, Mayne, J. Temple, P. Temple, and Wayte, were tried, all of whom were found guilty.

Meſſrs. Cooke and Peters were executed this day.

On the ſeventeenth, Meſſrs. Scot, Clement, Scroop, and Jones, were put to death.

On the nineteenth, Mr. Hayeningham received ſentence of death.

And on the ſame day, Meſſrs. Axtel and Hacker were executed at Tyburn.

On the eighth of December, both Houſes of Parliament ordered that the bodies of Cromwell, Bradſhaw, Ireton, and Pride, ſhould be hung upon the gallows at Tyburn, and afterwards buried under it.

On the thirtieth of January, 1660-1, this was carried into execution, except the omiſſion of dragging the corpſe of Pride out of his reſting place; the heads of the others were ſet upon Weſtminſter Hall.

On the eleventh of May, the remains of the loyal and heroic Marquis of Montroſe, were buried with uncommon ſolemnity in Scotland.

On the twenty-ſecond, the ſolemn League and Covenant was burnt in London and Weſtminſter by the common hangman, and afterwards in every part of England.

On the twenty-eighth, the writing called the Acts for the trial of his late Majeſty King Charles I. the Engagement againſt a King and Houſe of Peers; the Declaration publiſhing that England was erected into a Commonwealth; the renunciation of the title of Charles Stuart, and the bill for the ſecurity of the Lord Protector's perſon, were all burnt by order of the Parliament in Weſtminſter Hall, by the public executioner, whilſt the courts were ſitting.

On the ſeventh of June, the funerals of Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George L'Iſle, were ſolemnly celebrated at Colcheſter; theſe gentlemen had been publicly ſhot for their heroic loyalty.

On July the twelfth, the eſtates of the deceaſed regicides were by Parliament confiſcated. Lord Monſon, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Mr. Wallop, were ordered to be led to the gallows at Tyburn, and confined in the Tower for life; but they were firſt to confeſs their crimes at the bar of the Houſe of Commons.

On the twentieth of November, the Spiritual Lords took their ſeats in the Houſe of Peers.

On the twenty-fifth of that month, the regicides who came in upon the proclamation were brought to the bar of the Houſe of Lords to anſwer what they could ſay for themſelves, why judgement ſhould not be executed againſt them, upon which they ſeverally alledged, that "upon his majeſty's gracious declaration from Breda, and the votes of Parliament, and his majeſty's proclamation, publiſhed by the advice of the Lords and Commons then aſſembled in Parliament, they did render themſelves, being adviſed that they ſhould thereby ſecure their lives; and humbly craved the benefit thereof, and the mercy of the Houſes, and their mediation to his majeſty in their behalves."—Harry Marten briſkly ſubjoined to this ſubmiſſion, that "he had never obeyed any proclamation before this, and he hoped he ſhould not be hanged for taking the king's word now."

Great oppoſition was made to their having a pardon, a bill for their execution having been read twice; but at length it was dropped, and they were ſent to ſeveral priſons, and but very little more heard of.

On the nineteenth of April, 1662, Meſſrs. Miles Corbet, John Okey, and John Barkſtead, three of the regicides, were executed at Tyburn, having been brought up to the King's-Bench bar, and their perſons ſworn to.

On the ſixth of June Sir Henry Vane was convicted.

On the ninth of June General Lambert was convicted, but reprieved.

On the twenty-fourth of that month Sir Henry Vane was beheaded.

On the twenty-fourth of January, 1662-3, Archibald Johnſon, Lord Warreſton, was brought to England, and on the thirty-firſt ſent to the Tower, and thence tranſmitted to Edinburgh, where he was executed according to the ſentence of Parliament on a gibbet twenty-two feet high, as having been the chief incendiary of that kingdom.

Such is the journal of theſe proceedings of the king's violent death, and the puniſhment of ſuch of his judges who ſurvived the reſtoration, ſhortly taken from their riſe until their cloſe.

The monarchy ſuffered a total overthrow by theſe violent men, chiefly perſons in the army; and as no nation can for any length of time be governed by the military without total ruin, ſo theſe king-

doms at length ſaw their imminent danger, and threw off a yoke which was become intolerable, and were reinſtated in the bleſſings of peace and order, by the reſtoration of that happy conſtitution, which is the pride, the glory, and the only ſecurity of Britons.

I ſhall only add, that ſo extremely infamous was the very name of the High Commiſſion become, that the Parliament wiſhed to put every perſon to death who had ſat in one; but this ſanguinary meaſure was defeated chiefly through the mercy of King Charles II., and it was only enacted that ſuch who had given ſentence of death in any of them ſhould be diſabled from being members in any Parliament, or bearing any office in England or Wales. Colonel Ingoldſby and Colonel Tomlinſon, two of the regicides, for their particular merits, were, however, excepted out of this bill of penalties and diſabilities.

THE

LIVES

OF THE

ENGLISH REGICIDES,

&c.

The Life of JOHN BRADSHAW, *Esq.*

Lord President of the High Court of Justice.

JOHN BRADSHAW, Esq. was a gentleman of a very antient and respectable family in the county of Lancaster, but of a branch that was seated in, or near Namptwich, in Cheshire. Of his parents much has been written, but I am not certain they have been identified.

He was a student of the law in Gray's Inn, but he had not been much noticed in Westminster Hall, though he had considerable chamber practice, especially from the partizans of the Parliament, to whose interest he was extremely devoted; he was not, says Lord Clarendon, without parts, but of great insolence and ambition: he had re-

doms at length ſaw their imminent danger, and threw off a yoke which was become intolerable, and were reinſtated in the bleſſings of peace and order, by the reſtoration of that happy conſtitution, which is the pride, the glory, and the only ſecurity of Britons.

I ſhall only add, that ſo extremely infamous was the very name of the High Commiſſion become, that the Parliament wiſhed to put every perſon to death who had ſat in one; but this ſanguinary meaſure was defeated chiefly through the mercy of King Charles II., and it was only enacted that ſuch who had given ſentence of death in any of them ſhould be diſabled from being members in any Parliament, or bearing any office in England or Wales. Colonel Ingoldſby and Colonel Tomlinſon, two of the regicides, for their particular merits, were, however, excepted out of this bill of penalties and diſabilities.

THE

LIVES

OF THE

ENGLISH REGICIDES,

&c.

The Life of JOHN BRADSHAW, *Esq.*

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ceived little patrimonial inheritance, but he had acquired ſome fortune by his own reputation and prudence.

The firſt public duty I find him employed in, was in October 1644, when he was appointed by the Parliament to proſecute Lord Macquire and Macmahon, the Iriſh Rebels; he was joined in this buſineſs, of which the Parliament was extremely ſolicitous, with Mr. Prynne and Mr. Nudigate. Lord Macquire was condemned and executed.

We hear nothing more of him until October 8, 1646, when he was joined with Sir Rowland Wandesford, and Sir Thomas Beddingfield as Commiſſioners of the Great Seal for ſix months, by a vote of the Houſe of Commons, in which the Peers were deſired to acquieſce; we muſt ſuppoſe that this employment was procured him through the influence of ſome of his great clients in the Houſe of Commons, and it led him to ſtill farther promotion; for February 22, 1646-7, both Houſes voted that he ſhould be Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, an office no doubt peculiarly agreeable to him, as he was a native of a place ſo near that city. Mr. Chute became Commiſſioner of the Great Seal at the expiration of the time for which he had been named in one of the Parliament ordinances; but he was appointed inſtead of it, one of the Welch Judges, which I believe he held with his poſt at Cheſter.

He was named by the Parliament, June 27, 1647, of the Council to proſecute the loyal and virtuous

Judge Jenkins, a perſon held in univerſal eſteem with all good men; he did not decline this odious office, any more than St. John, Jermyn, or Prynne.

At a call of Serjeants October 12, 1648, by order of the Parliament, he was voted to receive the coif, together with Sir Thomas Weddrington, Sir Thomas Beddingfield, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Thorp, from Gray's Inn. At the ſame time five gentlemen of Lincoln's Inn, three of the Middle Temple, and three of the Inner Temple, had the ſame degree conferred upon them.

When the army had decided in their private meetings to deſtroy the king, that they might give all the little ſanction they could to it, to make it appear a legal act, their Committee, who were intirely under the influence of the military commanders, appointed that the Serjeants Bradſhaw and Nichols, with Mr. Steel, ſhould be aſſiſtants; this was ſo determined on the third of January, 1648-9, ſo that at this time Mr. Bradſhaw was only intended to take an inferior part in this nefarious buſineſs; but the Judges, though of their own appointment, too well knew the ſpirit of the Conſtitution to dare to act; neither could they prevail upon Serjeant Nichols to give attendance.

It was for this reaſon that the Commiſſioners in their ſitting held in the Painted Chamber, January the tenth, choſe Serjeant Bradſhaw, who was one of their number, to be Lord Preſident; but he not being preſent, they appointed Mr. Say to that office pro tempore, and until he ſhould attend the ſervice.

At this diſtant period it is not poſſible to determine whether Mr. Bradſhaw had aſpired to this pre-eminence in wickedneſs, or even knew that there was any idea of electing him to it; but there is moſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that he was neither ignorant of their intentions, nor averſe to the office, becauſe had he declined it, as there were none more daring, it might have been refuſed by every other gentleman of the profeſſion.

Upon ſpecial ſummons he attended the Court January the twelfth, and according to the former order, called to take his place of Preſident, when he made an earneſt, though probably an hypocritical, apology to be excuſed; but not prevailing, in obedience to the commands and deſires of the Court he ſubmitted to their order, and took his place as ſuch. The Court thereupon ordered, "that John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, who is "appointed Preſident of this Court, ſhould be "called by the name, and have the title of Lord "Preſident, and that as well without as within "the ſaid Court, during the Commiſſion and "ſitting of the ſaid Court." He then and every ſucceeding day took the chair as preſident.

Lord Clarendon tells us "that when he was "firſt nominated he ſeemed much ſurprized, and "very reſolute to refuſe it; which he did in ſuch "a manner, and ſo much enlarging upon his own "want of abilities to undergo ſo important a "charge, that it was very evident he had expected "to be put to that apology. And when he was "preſſed with more importunity than could have

" been uſed by chance, he required time to con-
" ſider of it," and ſaid ' he would then give
" his final anſwer,' which he did the next day;
" and with great humility accepted the office,
" which he adminiſtered with all the pride, im-
" pudence, and ſuperciliouſneſs imaginable."

If this ſtatement of his Lordſhip's is accurate Mr. Bradſhaw had been previouſly ſpoken to about the place he was to fill; but the Journals of the Court do not notice it.

Never was an individual raiſed in a moment to ſuch a ſituation as this man; who was inſtantly from a private gentleman, elevated to a moſt unuſual pre-eminence; twenty officers or other gentlemen were appointed to attend him, going and returning from Weſtminſter Hall. He had lodgings provided for him in Sir Abraham Williams' houſe, in the New Palace-yard during the ſitting of the Court; and Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Holland, and Mr. Edwards had the office to ſee that every thing that was neceſſary was provided for him, as they were alſo for the Royal Priſoner; he was preceded by a ſword and a mace, carried by two gentlemen, with all other officers of an inferior nature around him, and the twenty-one gentlemen that were near him, carried each a partizan; and he had in the Court two hundred ſoldiers for a farther guard. He had a chair of crimſon velvet in the middle of the Court, with a deſk, upon which was laid a velvet cuſhion: he wore his hat when his majeſty appeared, and was highly offended that his ſovereign ſhould not be uncovered

in his preſence. The "offence" was pardoned the firſt day of the King's appearance, but order was taken reſpecting it in future; but the dauntleſs monarch conducting himſelf with real dignity, did not condeſcend to the inſolence of his ſubject, though his pretended judge.

Overcome with vanity, he behaved to fallen majeſty with a rudeneſs that thoſe who preſide in our criminal courts never uſe to the loweſt culprit. It is not my deſign to follow him through a mock trial which is diſgraceful to our annals: it is ſufficient to obſerve that the King would not own what the Commiſſioners had no pretence to, any juriſdiction over him, their Sovereign, and that he as Preſident had the audacity to paſs ſentence of death upon the king as a traitor, tyrant, murderer, and public enemy to his country, and ordered him to be executed by decapitation, and by a warrant, which he as Preſident, ſigned firſt; this was carried into effect to the regret of the whole kingdom, if we except the army and a very few others.

The Lord Preſident was not gratified only by the ſplendour which ſurrounded him during the trial; he obtained a fortune which the longeſt ſervices of his profeſſion would not have gained him; the Deanery Houſe in Weſtminſter was given him as a reſidence for himſelf and his poſterity, and the ſum of five thouſand pounds allowed him to procure a ſuitable equipage, proportionate to his new ſphere of life, and ſuch as the dignity of his office demanded; "and now," ſays Lord Clarendon, "the Lord Preſident of

" the High Court of Juſtice ſeemed to be the " greateſt Magiſtrate in England. And it was " not thought ſeaſonable to make any ſuch de- " claration, yet ſome of thoſe whoſe opinion grew " quickly into ordinances, upon ſeveral occa- " ſions, declared that they believed that office " was not to be looked upon as neceſſary pro hac " vice only, but for continuance; and that he " who executed it, deſerved to have an ample and " liberal eſtate conferred upon him for ever. " Which ſudden mutation and exaltation of for- " tune could not but make a great impreſſion " upon a vulgar ſpirit, accuſtomed to no exceſſes, " and acquainted only with a very moderate " fortune."

This gentleman, now become tremendous from his office, was regarded with univerſal terror, alike courted and dreaded by all; even Archbiſhop Williams, the late Lord Keeper, ſtooped to ſolicit his protection. His compliances demanded all he was pleaſed to aſk, or wiſh, and as his new office did not expire with the king's trial, the parliament, February the ſixth, permitted him to make a deputy in Guildhall where he ſat as a Judge; and he was elected on the fourteenth of that month one of the thirty-eight members of the Council of State, amongſt whom were the Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Saliſbury; and Lords Gray, Fairfax, General Lord Grey of Groby, and L'Iſle, the heirs apparent to the Earls of Stamford and Pembroke, who all degraded their per-

ſons and nobility by joining in the uſurpation; and raiſed to be Lord Preſident in the High Court of Juſtice, it is not to be wondered at that Bradſhaw ſhould aſpire to, or that he ſhould be indulged in, the ſame poſt in the Council; and this "new man" took precedency of theſe ancient and potent peers.

His firſt attendance upon this Council was March 10, 1648-9, where he ſeemed, ſays Mr. Whitlock "but little verſed in ſuch buſineſs," and ſpent much of the Members' time by his own long ſpeeches.

Upon the twelfth of that month he was made Chief Juſtice of Wales; but he did not go thither immediately, for on the twentieth he ſat again in the Council as Lord Preſident, and here again Mr. Whitlock remarks, he "ſpent much of their time in urging his own long arguments, which are inconvenient in ſtate matters;" "his part," ſays that gentleman, "was only to have gathered the ſenſe of the Council, and to ſtate the queſtion, not to deliver his own opinion." Theſe circumſtances evince that Lord Clarendon well knew, though not perſonally, the character of this extraordinary man.

The parliament ordered that the ſum of one thouſand pounds ſhould be paid to him June 19, 1649, and the ſame day referred it to a committee to conſider how lands of inheritance of the yearly value of four thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled upon him, and his heirs.

On July the 20th he was appointed Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, and Mr. Hull the ſecond judge of that city.

The parliament paſſed a bill, July the 15th, ſettling two thouſand pounds a year upon him and his heirs; and, on the 24th following, granted him another two thouſand pounds per annum, to him and them, probably the ſum formerly voted to him; theſe were eſtates belonging to the Earl of St. Alban's and Lord Cottington; and an exact ſurvey was ordered to be made of theſe lands.

On the 28th of the ſame month, an act paſſed, conſtituting him Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter; and when ſeveral places were aboliſhed, this was retained merely on his account, and, April 2, 1652, they ſecured it to him.

Few royal favourites have been ſo much enriched, and ſo ſuddenly: Republicans can be as prodigal of the public purſe to their friends, as the moſt laviſh monarch could to his chief and moſt valued courtier.

He was again named of the Council of State, in the years 1650 and 1651; and in both he retained the Preſidency.

Hitherto he had proceeded in a career of power and ſplendour, wealth and conſequence, that aſtoniſhed all, and probably ſurpriſed none more than himſelf; but, when Cromwell ſeized the government, a very different ſcene preſented itſelf. None could be more obnoxious to Oliver, than the man who had ſat in judgment upon his liege Lord, to whom, on every account, he owed alle-

giance. What was a uſurper to expect from ſuch a character? Bradſhaw, who had violated the moſt ſacred duties, to cut off his lawful ſovereign, and change the government, could ill brook the idea of having a ſuperior placed over him, who, by birth, was little more than his equal. He was ſenſible too, that he muſt appear odious in the eyes of a ſupreme magiſtrate, who would always ſuſpect him; nor could he be pleaſed to ſee another eclipſe him in pomp and ſplendour, the glare of which had greatly attracted his attention, and of which he was not a little vain.

Proſcribed as he was by the exiled King, as the moſt obnoxious of all his ſubjects, he could the leſs be ſatisfied to have another maſter near him, to whom he would be nearly as odious. He was conſcious he was not, nor ever would be, truſted by the Protector.

Therefore he reſolved to counteract the diſſolution of the republican government all he could; and when General Cromwell had in ſo furious a manner diſſolved the Long Parliament, in the morning of April 20, 1653, he determined to take his place at the Council of State, with many other members, in the afternoon, thinking, perhaps, that his perſon would overawe the farther deſigns of Cromwell.

But he who had gone ſuch lengths was not to ſtop ſhort in his aim for the ſovereignty. Taking Lambert and Harriſon with him, he went to the Council, and, at his entrance, addreſſing them, ſaid, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private

" perſons, you ſhall not be diſturbed; but if as a " Council of State, this is no place for you; and, " ſince you cannot but know what was done at " the Houſe in the morning, ſo take notice that " the parliament is diſſolved."

To which the haughty and ferocious Judge of a King, full of indignation, replied, " Sir, we " have heard what you did at the Houſe in the " morning, and before many hours all England " will hear it: But, Sir, you are miſtaken to " think that the parliament is diſſolved, for no " power under heaven can diſſolve them but " themſelves; therefore, take you notice of " that."

He already thought he had Oliver before the murderous tribunal, at which he had preſided; but the ſtern General had to back his authority what the monarch, at his ſad hour, wanted, a victorious army. Therefore, after ſome faint ſpeeches of Sir Arthur Heſelrigge, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot, the Council, like the Parliament, were obliged to quit their ſituation and retire.

Cromwell paid ſo much attention to him as to continue all outward marks of reſpect; but he knew, that though his name was put in the Aſſembly that was to meet relative to a ſettlement of the government, it was only a compliment; and he therefore did all he could to obſtruct the deſigns of this artful man; eſpecially by ſhewing his ambitious aim to the younger members.

Oliver, until he had ſecured the ſovereignty, continued to pay him the moſt flattering reſpect

and attention; that done, they ſeparated with mutual coolneſs.

The Protector expected every homage and attention from the higheſt as well as the loweſt, and inſiſted upon every one taking out a commiſſion from himſelf, if they choſe to retain their places under his government; but, when the Lord Preſident appeared, he abſolutely refuſed, alledging, that he had received his commiſſion, as Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, to continue *qumdiu ſe bene geſſerit*, and he ſhould retain it without any other, unleſs he could be proved to have juſtly forfeited it by want of integrity; and if there were any doubts upon it, he would ſubmit it to trial, by twelve Engliſhmen; and ſoon after ſet out on the circuit without waiting farther orders; nor did Oliver think it prudent to prevent or recall him, as he had ſaid, nothing but force ſhould make him deſiſt from his duty. This highly exaſperated the Protector, who ſent a letter to Cheſter, to requeſt that the Lord Preſident might be oppoſed by every mean, in the enſuing election for that city. This he did that it might put a particular diſgrace upon him; but it had not the effect intended; the letter by ſome means came into the hands of his friends, who publicly read it at Cheſter; and he had there ſo many, whom he had an influence over, that he was returned a Member for the county by the Sheriff; but others, in the Cromwellian intereſt, returning another, neither ſat, becauſe it had been ſo decided in caſe of double returns.

What indignation muſt the man who had dared to adjudge his ſovereign feel; he boiled with vengeance; he entered into a conſpiracy againſt the author of his diſgrace; the plan of which was to ſeize General Monk, then Major-General; Overton was to have drawn three thouſand foot, with ſome horſe, into the field, and ſoon after to have marched for England, where he and Sir Arthur Heſelrigge were to have joined them, with very conſiderable forces; and Vice-Admiral Lawſon was to have declared in their favour, with a ſquadron of the fleet; Colonels Pride, Cobbit, Aſhfield, Lieutenant-colonels Maſon, Michel, and Wilkes, with ſeveral others, were engaged in the plot; and there were declarations printing to ſpirit up the people, who were to aſſiſt in reſtoring the commonwealth.

This ſcheme blew over, and no notice was taken of it by the Protector, who, to keep up ſome ſhew of regard to him, on September 16, 1653, had it enacted by Parliament, that the continuance of the palatinate power of Lancaſter ſhould be veſted in him, and this was but the year ſucceeding that in which he had engaged in this deſign. Each watched the other with the moſt ſedulous attention: in the arts of policy and hypocriſy Cromwell had no ſuperior.

The Lord Preſident, defeated, yet not deſpairing of his revenge, purſued his aim, and to accompliſh it the better, united himſelf, in 1656, to the violent deteſtable faction of thoſe who called themſelves Fifth Monarchy-men, but not openly;

theſe fanatics ſuppoſed, that "now was the time "for deſtroying and pulling down Babylon and "its adherents, and the ſaints muſt do it, who "were to bind kings in chains; and it was to be "done by the ſword." With theſe deſpicable men did he hold correſpondence, telling Okey and Goodgroom, two of them, that "the Long "Parliament, though under a force, were the ſu-"preme authority of England;" and he carried on his projects in the city, which, as well as the other deſign, were known to his Highneſs; who, not daring to ſeize this great incendiary, continued to watch and defeat his deſigns. A new parliament was to be ſummoned, and he could not think of having him in it; for the Republicans looked up to his opinion as a law to them, and nothing could have reſtrained them in parliament. Major-general Bridge was therefore ordered to prevent his return for Cheſhire. This was done, however, with great difficulty, for he had a decided intereſt in the county, and even amongſt thoſe whom the Protector had appointed his commiſſioners. He loſt his election in London, which he had aimed at; and, to crown all his mortifications, he was deprived of his favourite office of Chief Juſtice of Cheſter.

Theſe mutual diſguſts muſt have been fatal to one of them, if either durſt openly have avowed themſelves a decided enemy to the other; but each waited for the exact moment to ruin the other, which, however, never took place, from the caution of both. Their hatred was viſible to all;

and Mr. Whitlock ſays, that in November, 1657, "the diſlike between them was perceived to increaſe."

We may ſuppoſe, that whenever Oliver ſaw him, it recalled to his mind the worſt action of his life; and he well knew the pleaſure Bradſhaw would have in paſſing the ſame ſentence upon him as he had upon the king; and Bradſhaw never ſaw him, we may preſume, but he ſighed for an opportunity to convince the world that he was no reſpecter of perſons, nor regarded names, but to publicly evince, that a ſingle perſon, by whatever title known, was inimical to him.

Fortunately for him, the Protector died the following year, and his ſucceſſor was too weak and feeble to injure him. Richard being laid aſide, and the Long Parliament reſtored to the ſovereignty, he obtained a ſeat in the Council of State, was elected Lord Preſident, and appointed, with Serjeants Fountain and Tyrrel, Commiſſioner of the Great Seal. This was on June 3, 1659; and on the following day, the two latter took the oaths, and received the ſeals; but, on the 21ſt of that month, he was ordered by the Parliament to take them. He now ſeemed to be regaining all his former dignity; but his health, which had been ſome time declining, became ſo precarious, that he wrote to obtain leave to decline the duties of that important office, and in conſequence of it, they excuſed his attendance as a commiſſioner during his indiſpoſition.

The army had again put a force upon the Houſe of Commons, by ſeizing the Speaker, Lenthal, as he was going thither, and by it ſuſpended all farther proceedings of the then exiſting government. Bradſhaw felt the inſult; and, ill as he was, knowing that the Council of State ſat that day, he repaired to it, that he might do all he could to ſerve the cauſe of the Republic; and, when Colonel Sydenham, one of the members of the Council, endeavoured to juſtify the army in what they had juſt done, and concluded his ſpeech, by ſaying, according to the cant of the day, that they were neceſſitated to make uſe of this laſt remedy by "a particular call of the Divine Providence;" "weak and extenuated as he was, yet animated," ſays Ludlow, "by his ardent zeal, "and conſtant affection to the common cauſe, he "ſtood up, and interrupting him, declared his abhorrence of that deteſtable action; and telling "the Council, that being now going to his God, "he had not patience to ſit there to hear his great "name ſo openly blaſphemed." He then abruptly left them, retired to his lodgings, and withdrew from public employment.

He ſurvived this but a few days, dying November 22, 1659, of a quartan ague, which had held him a year. "A ſtout man," ſays Whitlock, "and learned in his profeſſion: no friend to mo"narchy;" and, ſo little did he repent of the wickedneſs of his conduct towards his ſovereign, that, "he declared, a little before he left

" the world, that if the king were to be tried and " condemned again, he would be the firſt man " that ſhould do it."

Notwithſtanding the diſtractions of the times, he was buried with great funeral pomp, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, from whence his body was dragged, at the reſtoration, putrid as it was, to be expoſed upon a gibbet, with thoſe of Cromwell and Ireton. Had he ſurvived a little longer, he would have paid the forfeiture of his life for his then unparalleled wickedneſs. It was ſingular, that Mr. Row, who preached his funeral ſermon, took his text from Iſaiah, " *The righteous man periſheth,* " *and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men* " *are taken away,*" *&c.*

In the life of this perſon, we ſee no one prominent feature to intereſt, much leſs to pleaſe us; a bold and daring ſpirit, that was unawed by divine or human juſtice, or at leaſt a miſtaken unbounded zeal for liberty, is all that we find in his character; but, that one bred to the law, and confeſſedly converſant in it, ſhould ſo far miſtake, as to think he could arraign and condemn his ſovereign, and thoſe illuſtrious unfortunates who had fought to reſtore him, is not to be believed; riches, honours, falſe ambition, all came in, and drowned his reaſon. As to his calling upon the name of the Lord, relative to the army's laſt violence, or his declaration at his death, it little ſignifies. He was a friend to the army when they laid their ſword upon the parliament, which led to his exaltation; and had he been in health, and that act could again

have reinſtated, or augmented his power, he would have been equally laviſh in his praiſes, as he had been on the former account. His laſt declaration only evinces, that riches and honours, power and conſequence, were more valuable in his eye, than all the rewards of righteouſneſs in another world; and that he had dreaded even mediocrity with a good conſcience, more than eternal torments, though theſe torments were juſt commencing. If he was ſincere in thinking he had done right, which might be thought abſolutely impoſſible, it is no excuſe; for falſe principles will carry a man as far as the moſt juſt and holy. The moſt impious blaſphemer may die with as much courage and zeal as the moſt pious martyr. To tenaciouſly hold a wicked principle, is not true conſtancy, nor to die for it, heroiſm.

There is an engraved portrait of him, by M. Vandergucht, 8vo. from an original painting; large hat, which he wore at the King's trial, which is in Aſhmole's Muſeum at Oxford; it ſhews what dangers he apprehended, as it is well guarded within with iron. There is another, partly ſcraped, partly ſtipped; large 4to. He is ſuppoſed to have communicated ſome old evidences to Marchimont Nedham, to be inſerted in his tranſlation of Selden's Mare Clauſum.

His marriage I have never been able to know. His kinſman and heir, juſt before the reſtoration, was driven from Founthill-houſe by the heir of Lord Cottington, it having been part of what the parliament had given the regi-

cide. It was, I preſume, Richard Bradſhaw, Eſq. who was ſent by the Protector Oliver to Hamborough, and afterwards Ruſſia, and other Northern courts; and this I think very evidently to keep him as a pledge, in caſe it was neceſſary; he let him conſtantly be in want of money, and the government greatly indebted to him, that he might be obliged to remain whitherſoever he placed him. This gentleman poſſeſſed great abilities, and his letters in Thurloe's State Papers give us ſome of the beſt information we can obtain during the time he was employed in thoſe Northern regions. In a letter to Secretary Thurloe, dated from Axe-yard, Nov. 1, 1658, being then juſt returned to this kingdom, he requeſted that the ſum of 2188l. os. 9d. ſhould be paid him, as due from the government; in his letter he ſtates ſome curious circumſtances relative to himſelf.

He tells Mr. Thurloe, that in 1648, he was receiver of the crown revenue in North Wales and Cheſhire for the ſtate, and that coming to paſs his accounts, and pay in ſome money to Mr. Fauconberg, the Receiver General, he had the misfortune to have his lodgings in King-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, broke open, the ſame day that the apprentices roſe in London, and came down to Whitehall; and 430l. was taken out of his trunk, in the chamber where he lay. And though it was a time of great diſtraction, yet by means of the warrants, and the aſſiſtance of Mr. Fauconberg, he apprehended the culprits, and they were condemned at the Old Bailey, as Mr. Compton

knew, they being ſons of perſons of note in Covent Garden; that it was a buſineſs of the greateſt trouble he ever experienced, and with the loſs of 100l. and that before he could get his accounts paſſed in the Exchequer, where he expected this money would have been allowed, he was commanded to Hamburg; and in his petition to the Council of State, praying to be paid the full ſum of 2188l. 11s. 4d. he ſays, that he had ſuffered the loſs of above 5000l. in the late wars of this nation, without any reparation for the ſame, and had for above ſeventeen years freely expoſed his life at home and abroad in the ſervice of the State; that the ſum was diſburſed out of his affection to his country, whilſt he reſided a public miniſter in foreign parts, and if not paid, he ſhould be now at his return rent from his ſmall eſtate, it being more than he hath got in the ſervice of the Commonwealth. The Council, March 9, 1659-60, directed it to be paid, and on the twelth his accounts were ordered for that purpoſe to be laid before the Parliament. He urged his petition again to Thurloe, in letters dated the 23d and 31ſt, but probably it was never paid, and from the Preſident's attainder, it is moſt likely he was ruined. Catherine his wife wrote once to Thurloe, whilſt he was abroad to thank him, for introducing her to the Protector. The Reſident every where was treated with contempt and ſcorn by the Engliſh, and often by foreigners, becauſe he was the Lord Preſident's relation.

The Life of Sir WILLIAM AIRMINE, *Bart.*

SIR WILLIAM AIRMINE, of Oſgodby, in the county of Lincoln, was created a Baronet by King James I. November 28, 1619, in the life-time of his father, Sir William Airmine, of that place, Knight.

He early declared for the cauſe of the Parliament, who placed the greateſt confidence in him, naming him one of their Commiſſioners to attend the King, when his Majeſty went towards the Scots; but his real office was that of a ſpy upon the actions of his ſovereign, whilſt the royal army lay before Newark in 1645; and upon the news of Lord Fairfax having been defeated in the North, the Parliament in great fear ſent him, with Sir Henry Vane, junior, and two others, with Mr. Marſhall and Mr. Nye, puritan divines, to deſire the brethren of Scotland would inſtantly come to their aſſiſtance. It was an office that the Earl of Rutland avoided ſharing, by pleading indiſpoſition, and Lord Grey of Wark reſolutely declined, though he was impriſoned in the Tower for his diſobedience to their mandate.

He alſo aſſiſted at ſome of the conferences for peace as one of the Parliament Commiſſioners; he was appointed, with others, in 1646, to receive the King at Holdingby, but this he declined. He was alſo named of the Committee for the parts about Keſteven, the ſouth-weſt diviſion of Lincolnſhire.

Obedient as he had been to the Parliament, and though he had taken the Proteſtation, yet he avoided committing himſelf in the King's death, never attending any of the ſittings in the High Court of Juſtice, though named one of the Judges. This however did not make him forfeit the good opinion of the uſurping powers, who knew his conſequence with all around him, and his ſincere averſion to the royal cauſe. For theſe reaſons he was elected a Member of the Council of State in the years 1649-1650 and 1651. I have not ſeen the time of his death.

By Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Michael Hickes, of Beverſton, in the county of Glouceſter, Knight, and ſiſter of Sir William Hickes, created a Baronet, he had Colonel William Airmine, a Parliament officer, and equally averſe to the royal cauſe as his father; he ſucceeded to the title, but leaving only daughters, it became extinct.

The Life of FRANCIS ALLEN, *Esq.*

Mr. Francis Allen was a citizen and goldſmith of London, reſiding near St. Dunſtan's Church, in Fleet-ſtreet. Probably he was very opulent, for at that time thoſe of his trade were the principal bankers in the city.

He was elected a Member for the Borough of Cockermouth, in Cumberland, in the Long Parliament, and his declaring in favour of that intereſt, in oppoſition to that of the Sovereign, they in 1646 appointed him a Commiſſioner for conſerving the peace between England and Scotland, and gave him the lucrative poſt of a Treaſurer of the Army; to retain which he ſcrupled at nothing which the ſuperior officers ordered him to do; his love of money naturally led him to conſtantly declare in favour of the army, and to oppoſe by every means a ſettlement of the kingdom; it was this policy that urged him to keep back the ſum of 49,000l. which the Parliament had placed in his hands to prevent the military coming up, and overawing the Parliament and city; and when they did march to the capital, the government became their own.

Grateful for the part he had taken, the army junto named him one of the Commiſſioners of the High Court of Juſtice, as they were pleaſed to term it, and he ſhowed his devotion to the will of his employers; for he ſat in the Court held in the Painted Chamber on the 17th, 22d, 23d, 24th,

25th, 26th, 27th, and 29th; and in Weſtminſter Hall on the 20th, 22d, 23d, and 27th of January, and ſigned the warrant to put the unhappy monarch to a public death.

He obtained under the Republic many lucrative offices; and his emoluments muſt have been great, for beſides the place of Treaſurer of the Army, he had that of Cuſtomer of London, with others, and he knew how to obtain money by receiving compliments under the name of acknowledgments of attention; and he was by all theſe various means enabled to purchaſe the property of the Church. My author ſays, the Biſhop's houſes at Wincheſter and Waltham. I preſume he has not ſtated it right; it is however evident that he laid out his money in epiſcopal eſtates, and his intereſt was ſuch, that he gained what he purchaſed at a very low rate.

He was extremely warm in his attachment to the Republican form of government, and for that reaſon very obnoxious to General Cromwell, who perſonally alluded to him when he, by force, diſſolved the Parliament, telling them that the public was cheated by one of them, looking at Mr. Allen at the time he ſaid it; his conduct upon this occaſion ſhewed a courage that was the very oppoſite to the puſillanimous behaviour of the other members who diſgracefully ſlunk out of the Houſe, as if Oliver had been their legal maſter, and not their ſervant; for when the General ſaid, "It's you that have forced me to this; for "I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he

" would rather ſlay me, than put me upon the " doing of this work;" he anſwered, " It is not " yet gone ſo far, but that all things may be re- " ſtored again, and if the ſoldiers were com- " manded out of the Houſe, and the mace re- " turned, the public affairs might go on in their " former courſe." Enraged at this boldneſs, Oliver charged him openly with a deficiency in his accounts of ſome hundred thouſand pounds, and for which he threatened to queſtion him, and then ordered his muſqueteers to take him into cuſtody; but no ways intimidated, he replied, that " it was well known the fault was not his; " that his accounts had not long ſince been made " up,—having tendered them to the Houſe," concluding, " I aſk no man any favour in that " matter."

As we hear of no proſecution after the aſſumption of power by Oliver, we muſt ſuppoſe that the charge was ill founded, or that he made his peace with the Protector, or that his Highneſs found it not convenient to meddle with ſo daring a ſpirit. It is evident that Oliver had no ill opinion of him, or thought it prudent to gain him over to his intereſt, for his name appears in 1655 in the commiſſion for the county of Berks for raiſing the aſſeſſments for Government.

He lived long enough to ſee the folly of truſting to a military force, which though at firſt it is made the inſtrument of ſetting aſide ſome ſuppoſed grievances, in the end is ſure to eſtabliſh

a real tyranny, whatever form, or under whatever name, it aſſumes.

Happily for himſelf he died before the return of King Charles II. but his name occurs in the act of attainder and confiſcation, ſo that what eſtates he had obtained of a lay nature, were loſt to the crown, whilſt thoſe he had procured from the church returned to their legitimate owners, leaving his family probably deſtitute of every kind of proviſion.

The Life of Sir WILLIAM ALLENSON, *Knt.*

Sir William Allenson was an alderman of the city of York, and joined with the Parliament in oppoſition to King Charles I. He was in the confidence of the army, who named him one of the commiſſioners to try the unhappy monarch; but he had the virtue, as well as prudence, to decline having any concern whatever with that nefarious tranſaction.

Though he did not go all the lengths that the army wiſhed, yet he was not diſcarded; for obtaining a ſeat in Parliament, like the other Members, he gained a very lucrative appointment, being nominated Clerk of the Hanaper, then worth 1000l. per annum, which with other means, too well underſtood by the perſons then in power, he acquired ſo much money, that he was enabled to purchaſe Crable Caſtle, belonging to the archiepiſcopal ſee of York, worth 600l. a year, beſides much more epiſcopal lands, upon very eaſy terms.

He ſurvived the reſtoration, and as he had no concern in the death of the late Sovereign he was permitted to end his days in peace, but probably in much poverty, for all his money having been laid out upon the ſpoils of the church, and they returning to their legitimate proprietors, left him, we muſt ſuppoſe, poorer than when he firſt embarked in the Parliament intereſt.

The return therefore of his Royal Maſter muſt have been extremely diſagreeable to him, on all accounts. He appears to have poſſeſſed no ſplendid abilities, nor to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf much either in the cabinet or the field.

The Life of JOHN ALURED, *Esq.*

JOHN ALURED, Esq. was a native of Yorkshire, and was returned a member of parliament for the borough of Heydon in that county in 1640. He took the Protestation in the following year, and upon the sword being drawn, entered into the army with the greatest alacrity, and rose to be a Colonel of Horse.

The Parliament placed great confidence in him, his name constantly appears in their committees for the East Riding of Yorkshire, and notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, his commission was continued to him. The deaths of Sir John Hotham and his son were greatly owing to his ungenerous conduct, in shewing papers entrusted to him in secrecy.

He was extremely active in procuring the murder of his sovereign, accepting the office of one of his judges, and attended in the Painted Chamber January 8, 1648-9, and again the 15th, and in Westminster Hall the 20th, and in both the 22d and 23d; in the Painted Chamber the two following days; and in both upon the 27th when sentence was given, and he signed the warrant for execution.

I have not seen when he died, but it was some time before the restoration, when his name was put in the act of attainder, that his property of every description might be forfeited. As there were two of his brothers in the army, Colonel

Matthew Alured, and Lancelot Alured, I am not certain whether it was the Regicide or Matthew who in 1651 diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo gallant a manner by retaking the towns in the county of Fife, which had revolted from the Engliſh, from a ſuppoſition that they had left the kingdom; he obtained them by ſtorm, and gained priſoners, colours, artillery, and arms; but by ſurprizing old General Leſley, Earl of Leven, near Dundee, with ſeveral Noblemen with him, who were raiſing forces, he performed ſtill more effectual ſervice, as it prevented the Scotch from putting themſelves under a commander of great reputation and experience, who might have at leaſt prolonged the war for a conſiderable time. If this was John, probably he died in Scotland.

Colonel Matthew Alured made a great figure; the Protector had ſent him to Ireland, and deſigned to have given him a command in the Highlands of Scotland, but his great diſlike to the government of a ſingle perſon made him averſe to Oliver, and he was at little pains to conceal his diſaffection. Cromwell having "diſcovered his evil intentions," wrote May 16, 1654 to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, his ſon-in-law, requeſting him to ſend for the Colonel to Dublin, and take away his commiſſion, and to diſcover what might be learnt againſt him, and ſend him and the information immediately over. The apprehenſion of the Protector muſt have been great, for he orders that not a day may be loſt in performing what he had written relative to Alured,

to whom alſo he wrote the ſame day, by the hand of Secretary Thurloe, but ſigned by himſelf.

SIR,

I deſire you to deliver up into the hands of Lieutenant-general Fleetwood ſuch authorities and inſtructions, as you had for the proſecution of the buſineſs of the Highlands in Scotland, and you doe forthwith repaire to me to London; the reaſon whereof you ſhall knowe, when you come hither, which I would have you doe with all ſpeed. I would have you allſoe give an account to the Lieutenant General, before you come away, how farre you have proceeded in this ſervice, and what money you have in your hands, which you are to leave with hym. I reſt

Your loveinge freind,

16 May, 1654. OLIVER P.

The judgment formed of him was well grounded; for Fleetwood, in a letter written upon the 18th, only two days after, ſays, that he had betrayed his thoughts to two perſons whom he ſuppoſed diſſatisfied, and that theſe ſentiments were ſuch that it was improper to truſt him with any employment; for ſays the General, he looks upon himſelf, as ſent out of the way, and openly ſpoke his diſſatisfaction to ſuch who had gone over into Scotland, ſo that he could not truſt him, though he had not ſaid any thing to him, that the ſervice might not ſuffer; and Mr. Thomas Sandford on the 24th confirms this, and farther

added, that he had been "tampering with ſome of the Anabaptiſts' judgment," then a moſt pernicious ſect of men, who diſliked all regular government.

Upon his return to England, he with two other Colonels drew up a dangerous petition of a very inflammatory nature, and it being diſcovered in his houſe, he was committed a priſoner November 13, 1654 to the Mewes; it was thought his life was in danger, and therefore Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland, whoſe ſecret ſentiments were much the ſame as his, wrote to Secretary Thurloe, "I can-"not but ſuppoſe that the buſineſs of Colonel "Alured may reach his life: if any thing of that "nature ſhould be done, it would ſadly wound "me; and therefore I earneſtly beg, that if any "ſuch thing be, you will endeavour the preven-"tion thereof, otherwiſe it will weaken my hands "in my worke: therefore I hope you will ef-"fectually mind it." Perhaps this might ſave his life, but it did not do more, for he remained long a priſoner; he and Colonel Overton, though a priſoner at Dundee, united in a petition to the Protector, in which they ſaid they "hoped his "Highneſs would no longer exerciſe their patient "expectations with delays, for they were tender "of that reputation which he might, as to men, "both give and take away;" but though this was in January 1654-5, yet in a letter addreſſed to Thurloe to intreat for permiſſion to have an audience of the Protector, whom he had obtained leave to ſpeak with a fortnight before, and who

had ordered him to come on Monday following; but though he had attended that day, and almoſt every other in that week, he could not get an audience, becauſe of his Highneſs's more weighty concerns; and he complained of his more than ten months impriſonment. December 25 following he wrote from his priſon to the Protector, ſtating, that "he had importuned my Lord "Lambert to mediate with his Highneſs for his "enlargement, and receiving ſome hope, he took "the freedom to aſſure him that he would not, "either directly nor indirectly, act any thing pre-"judicial to his Highneſs, or the preſent Govern-"ment, or the peace of the Commonwealth; "but by God's aſſiſtance would live peaceably "and quietly following his lawful occaſions, and "would be always ready, when he ſhould be by "his Highneſs thereto called, to ſhew himſelf as "formerly againſt the cavalier party."

We hear nothing farther of him until the reſignation of the Protector Richard, when he was appointed Captain of the Life-guard to the Parliament and Council, July 9, 1659; and, February 11th, following, he was, by an act of parliament, named a commiſſioner, with Heſlerigge, Walton, and Morley, for the government of the army, jointly with Monk the General; but this greatly diſpleaſed the latter, as they were known to be men of violent ſpirits, and firmly attached to the republican form. It was a meaſure judged neither wiſe nor politic by any, eſpecially as Heſlerigge was ſo furious in his whole conduct. The

reſtoration reduced him to leſs, perhaps, than his original outſet. He was married; for his wife preſented a petition to Oliver. A perſon of his name, ſeated at Burton upon Trent, married a daughter of Sir Henry Every, of Egginton, in Derbyſhire, Bart. He, and his brother Lancelot, are mentioned in the Committees of the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire, in 1657. I perhaps ought to apologize for ſaying ſo much of Colonel Matthew Alured; but the brothers are ſo often miſtaken for each other, that I thought it might be uſeful to future inquirers.

The Life of THOMAS ANDREWS, *Esq.*

Mr. Thomas Andrews was an Alderman of the city of London, and, from the firſt, a violent oppoſer of the King; and, having been nominated one of his Majeſty's Judges, to pleaſe the Army, attended in Weſtminſter Hall, January 22d, 23d, and 27th, when ſentence was pronounced, and ſigned the death-warrant. For theſe compliances, he became very dear to the republican party, who made him, not only Treaſurer of the money and plate ſent to Guildhall, where he and Lord Say and Sele obtained very large ſums, but appointed him Treaſurer at War, with three-pence in the pound ſalary, and a Commiſſioner for the ground belonging to St. Paul's church.

In the year 1651, he was made Lord Mayor of London, an important time, as the Scots had advanced into England, to ſet King Charles II. upon the throne of his anceſtors. Andrews, however, kept the capital very quiet, whilſt the Engliſh General advanced againſt him, and, by giving the unfortunate young Prince a defeat, ruined for a time all the hopes of the loyal part of the kingdom.

By preſenting a petition, of a dangerous nature, he fell under the diſpleaſure of the Protector Oliver. To the Royaliſts he was peculiarly obnoxious, as one of the High Court of Juſtice, where he had aſſiſted in the condemnation of other illuſtrious characters, beſides the unhappy mo-

narch. His ſentiments were, no doubt, entirely for a commonwealth; ſo that a ſingle perſon was odious to him, whether he bore the title of King, or Protector. Had he lived to have ſeen the return of his baniſhed Sovereign, he would either have expiated his crime by an ignominious and painful death, or ſpent the remainder of his life in poverty and impriſonment. That property, which he had purchaſed by ſo many crimes, was loſt at the reſtoration by the act of attainder.

The Life of JOHN ANLABY, *Esq.*

JOHN ANLABY, of Elton, in the county of York, was named one of the Commiſſioners for trying his Sovereign, but he never ſat a ſingle day, nor took the leaſt part in the lamentable tragedy. He was ſo private a perſon, that his name does not occur during the buſy ſcene that England diſplayed while he lived; nor would he have been thought of, for this baſe purpoſe, if it had not been for his having married Dorothy, the daughter of Sir Matthew Boynton, of Barmſton, in Yorkſhire, Baronet; ſo created by King Charles I. which he baſely returned with the blackeſt ingratitude, by injuring his Majeſty in the Houſe of Commons, where he ſat as a Member of Parliament for Heydon, in that county; and by preventing the Hothams delivering up Hull to the King.

The Life of THOMAS ATKINS, *Esq.*

Mr. Atkins was returned one of the members to repreſent Norwich, in the Parliament called in 1640, and continued ſuch until the reſtoration, having ſurvived Mr. John Tooley, who are both deſcribed as citizens of that place, of which the latter was an alderman; but Atkins outſhone the other in becoming an alderman, and, in 1644, Lord Mayor of London.

Though a ſtrenuous republican to the laſt, he took no part in the King's death; but it did not loſe him the confidence of his party, who made him one of their Treaſurers at War, in which employment he acquired a very conſiderable fortune. Mr. Paul Wright gives him the ſame arms as the Baronet Family of Atkins, of Clapham, in Surrey.

The Life of Sir EDWARD BAINTON, *Knt.*

SIR EDWARD BAINTON was of a knightly family, ſeated at Brumhall, in the county of Wilts; he was ſon of Sir Henry Bainton, of that place, Knt. Diſſatisfied with his Majeſty's government, he refuſed to contribute to the Scotch War; and, upon the calling of the memorable Parliament in 1640, he was elected one of the Members to repreſent the Borough of Chippenham, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the Court; being the firſt perſon, after the Speaker, Mr. Lenthal, that took the Proteſtation*. The Parliament named him one of their Committee for his county; but, like ſeveral other Members, ſeeing that the Parliament were proceeding to dangerous lengths, he was diſguſted, and going into the Iſle of Wight, he ſpoke very opprobriouſly againſt them, for which he was ſent to priſon; but in the following year, upon his preſenting a ſubmiſſive petition to the Houſe, he was reſtored; though they had, for the ſame ſort of offence, put Mr. Alexander Carew, one of their members, to death, and paſſed a vote to diſable Sir John Harriſon, Sir Henry Anderſon, and Mr. Conſtantine, other members, and new writs were iſſued out in the room of thoſe gentlemen.

* I have not mentioned any of thoſe whoſe Lives are here given, after this time as taking the Proteſtation; ſuffice it to ſay, they all took it, and the Covenant.

He was named as one of the Commiſſioners to try the King, but perhaps both without his knowledge and conſent, for he never attended, nor took the leaſt concern in it, and probably he was hurt at the lengths of his party, for he declined taking any part in the government after the King's violent death, until the reſtoration, which he lived to ſee.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Maynard, of Walthamſtow, in Eſſex, Knt. ſecretary to Lord Burleigh, Queen Elizabeth's great Miniſter, by Suſan, daughter and co-heir of William Pierſon, Eſq. Gentleman Uſher of the Star Chamber. By this Lady he had Edward Bainton, Eſq. his heir, who, in 1640 was returned to ſerve in Parliament for the borough of Devizes. He ſeems no more attached to the ſpirit of the times than his father; for in 1647 he was accuſed in the Houſe of Commons of ſigning a warrant for raiſing horſe in the city, to further the late tumults, meaning the attempt to reſtore the King to his liberty. For this offence he was ſuſpended the Houſe.

The Life of JOHN BARKSTEAD, *Esq.*

Mr. John Barkstead was a goldsmith, in London, and, from the commencement of the unhappy quarrel between the King and his Parliament, sided with the most vehement; and perhaps nothing was more acceptable to him than having permission to sit in judgment upon his Sovereign. He attended every day during the whole trial, except on the 13th of January, and signed the warrant to complete the catastrophe.

Though a thorough republican, he joined every government during the usurpation. Cromwell knighted him, made him one of his lords, and confided the custody of the Tower to him, originally given to him by the Parliament, and appointed him Major-general of London. He seems well adapted to the office of chief jailor.

There are many of his letters in Thurloe's State Papers. He was undoubtedly a man of abilities, but of very little, or no estimation any other way, than that in which he was continued by the elder Protector, who always gave to each his appropriate office.

The severities he had exercised against the unfortunate loyalists, made him the most odious and detestable character in the kingdom, Bradshaw excepted.

Knowing his danger, he fled to the continent at the restoration; but, unhappily for himself, that money which he had obtained by the basest

means, he employed in purchaſing epiſcopal eſtates, ſo that he could not uſe any, in judiciouſly warding off the keenneſs of the purſuit made againſt him.

He firſt ſettled at Hanau, in Germany, where he was elected a burgeſs; but imprudently leaving that free city, and venturing into Holland, he was ſeized upon, and ſent into England, by Sir George Downing, the Britiſh Reſident, who had been his former companion and friend. With him were alſo conveyed, Mr. Corbet and Mr. Okey, both implicated in the ſame crime as himſelf. He, with them, was brought up to the King's Bench Bar, condemned, and executed at Tyburn, April 19, 1662. He died meanly, ſay the Royaliſts, having, it was ſuppoſed, taken ſome ſtupifying drug previous to his leaving the priſon. But Ludlow tells us, on the contrary, that "he died with chearfulneſs and courage, no way "derogating from the ſoldier, and a true Eng-"liſhman;" but he was not in England, and probably he was miſinformed. He once was extremely brave, diſplaying the trueſt courage, whilſt captain of foot, under Colonel Venn, and whilſt governor of Reading; but guilt and detection make heroes cowards.

His head was ſet upon a pole, and placed upon Traitor's Gate, in the Tower, of which he had been governor. His wife, I believe, ſurvived him.

The Life of Sir JOHN BARRINGTON, *Bart.*

SIR JOHN BARRINGTON, of Barrington-Hall, in Herts, Knight and Baronet, was one of the heads of that famous confederacy of relationſhip that met in the Houſe of Commons in 1640, all of whom were extremely diſſatisfied with the Court. But Sir John does not appear to have had any perſonal diſlike to the Sovereign, and much leſs to a monarchical form of government. His alliance with the Cromwell family made him much attached to that intereſt, whilſt it kept the adminiſtration; but, as he had never puſhed his power more than prudence and honour dictated, he was ſaved all unpleaſant circumſtances at the reſtoration, and he was ſuffered to live and die in peace and retirement. He was near ſeeing the revolution, dying ſo late as March 24, 1682.

No doubt he was greatly hurt at having his name inſerted in the commiſſion, and we muſt ſuppoſe, that Cromwell looked upon it certain that he ſhould have prevailed upon him to have taken an active part in this nefarious buſineſs; but moderation and caution guided all Sir John's actions; beſides, the honour of having ſome of the blood-royal flowing in his veins, would make him more averſe to this ſhocking office to which he was invited. The deſcendants of Sir John ſtill reſide at their family manſion, in great reſpect.

The Life of JOSIAS BERNERS, *Esq.*

Josias Berners, Esq. was so very private a person that I have never once, that I recollect, seen his name in all the busy scenes that passed before him, prior to this, and he had the prudence to avoid every open concern with the shocking transaction, as also in that against Dr. Hewit, though it was well known he greatly promoted both; but he was prevented sitting in either of these high courts of justice by the continual prayers and intreaties of his wife. He resided at Clerkenwell, and was supposed to have been originally "a serving man;" and at the restoration was thought to be so dangerous a person that government would not pardon him, but from the lenity of a good-natured monarch he received no injury, nor, I believe, any trouble. He had been one of the Council of State in 1659; it is difficult to say how he acquired his consequence.

I have never discovered whether he had any family. It was the part of prudence at the restoration for these busy spirits to seclude themselves in the closest retirement, which may account for the little we know of him, and many other characters after the return of the King and the constitution.

The Life of JOSEPH BLACKISTON, *Esq.*

JOSEPH BLACKISTON, Esq. was originally a tradesman, generally, though erroniously, said, a shopkeeper in the town of Newcastle upon Tyne, in the county of Northumberland. He was not originally a member of the Long Parliament, but was returned, through the influence of the Scotch, for one of the members of the borough in which he resided. This he was desirous of, to screen himself from paying 6000l. which came into his hands as the executor of the executor of Sir Thomas Farmer, who had bequeathed it to charitable uses; and a bill in Chancery had been filed against him for the performance of the trust, which, by his obtaining a seat he hoped to evade; and he did defeat every attempt to bring him to account by the friends he formed at Westminster, who protected their own party however unjustly.

The Parliament made him quite their tool; they appointed him one of their committee in Newcastle, and named him a commissioner for the observance of the treaty made with the Scotch nation; and when the Scots made such high demands for money upon England, and the Parliament wished to bring their claims to a greater shew of justice, Denzil Lord Hollis says, they "thrust on some of their little Northern Beagles, "as Mr. Blackiston, and others, to inform them "what high sums they had raised on the country;" who reported they had taken as much, or more,

as they had demanded; but in the end a very large ſum was given, to prevent blood between the nations, though neither was ſatisfied; for the Scotch army had reckoned upon poſſeſſing vaſt wealth, and the Engliſh who had called them in, at once feared, and deſpiſed them.

This man raiſed by the circumſtances of the times, went every criminal length of that faction, who ſecured to him the enjoyment of his ill-acquired wealth, and for this purpoſe he not only accepted the office of one of the King's judges, but was in every ſitting in the Painted Chamber and Weſtminſter Hall, and wrote his name to the fatal warrant. He ſurvived this wickedneſs only a few months, dying in 1649.

Perhaps few at that period obtained more than this perſon by his compliances, having gained from the Parliament at one time 14,000l. beſides 560l. given to his brother, Mr. John Blackiſton, under pretence of ſatisfying him for the loſſes he had experienced from the Scotch, I ſuppoſe, and which he was allowed by Mr. Sandis of the Temple, chairman of the committee, appointed to examine the claim. There was alſo 3,500l. voted in June, 1649, to his wife and children, and which was directed to be paid out of the eſtates of the Marquis of Newcaſtle and Lord Witherington. He alſo had held the place of coal meter, worth 200l. per annum, and had obtained the Caſtle of Durham belonging to the epiſcopal prelatines of that ſee.

It is ſingular that in Nalſon's trial of King

Charles I. his baptiſmal name is invariably given John, but it was Joſeph; his brother John was one of Oliver's committee for the county of Northumberland ſo late as 1657.

It has been uſually ſaid, that Mr. Blackiſton was a mean perſon of low origin; but that does not appear; for though he was in trade, at a period when perſons in that line of life were not regarded, as they very properly now are, yet his family was very conſiderable, one branch of them having been created Baronets by King James I. and John Blackiſton, of Blackiſton, Eſq. was his grandfather, and his father was a very highly beneficed clergyman, being Marmaduke Blackiſton, A. M. prebendary of the ſeventh ſtall in Durham cathedral, vicar of Woodhouſe, and treaſurer of that cathedral; he had alſo the churches of Redmarſhall and Sedgfield, archdeacon of the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire, and prebend of Wiſtow in the cathedral of York.

The Regicide had three younger brothers and a ſiſter. Thomas, the eldeſt of them, was a clergyman, to whom his father reſigned the prebendal ſtall of Wiſtow: Robert, another, was likewiſe in the church, to whom his father ſurrendered up his ſtall in Durham cathedral, and his living of Sedgfield: he died January 17, 1634, having married a daughter of Dr. John Howſon, biſhop of Durham. John, the other brother, has been noticed. The ſiſter was married to Dr. Coſin, alſo biſhop of Durham.

This reſpectable genealogy is not given as any

ſoftening, but aggravating, his demerits. Little did King Charles I. think when Mr. Robert Blackiſton was, with other prebendaries, ſupporting the canopy over his head, that his brother Joſeph ſhould ſentence it to be cut off. Marmaduke Blackiſton, Eſq. the Regicide's ſon, ſold the family ſeat of Newton Hall, near Durham, to Sir Henry Liddell's anceſtor; a proof that though the father was attainted when dead, yet the ſon had a grant of the eſtate.

The Life of DANIEL BLAGRAVE, *Esq.*

DANIEL BLAGRAVE, Esq. was descended from a genteel family seated in the county of Berks, and bred to the Bar. He obtained a seat in the Long Parliament for the borough of Reading. As his sentiments were so very different from those of his respectable parents, it is generally supposed, that imagining which would be the victorious side, he embarked in the Parliament quarrel with the expectation of enriching himself.

He went into the army first at Reading, of which he was not only a representative in Parliament, but steward. The Parliament named him of their committee for Berks, and treasurer of that county. He distinguished himself by his persecutions of the orthodox clergy. He was therefore a proper person to be chosen for the black crime of putting the King to death: he attended the High Court of Justice in the Painted Chamber, January the 8th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 20th, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 29th, and in Westminster Hall the 20th, 22d, 23d, 27th, and 29th, and he signed the warrant to put the King to death.

As a farther reward for this base compliance, which his knowledge of the law must have instructed him was the highest crime that could be committed, he received the office of Exegenter in the Court of Common Pleas, then worth 500l.

and became one of the Maſters in Chancery, which was of much greater value to him. By the emoluments of his offices, and other means, he was enabled to purchaſe the King's fee farm of the great manor of Sunning, in Berkſhire, and other eſtates, which he did upon very eaſy terms.

Whatever were his ſentiments, he kept in with every form of government during the interregnum, and he had the whole time great influence in the town of Reading.

If we may judge from one of his friend's ſentiments, he was by no means attached to the Preſbyterians; for Barkſtead, Lieutenant of the Tower, writes to Secretary Thurloe, Aug. 15, 1656,

"Sir, I am informed from very good hands, "that one Coates, the poſt-maſter of Reading, "who appeared very active for Mr. Blagrave's "party at the elections there, did rantingly uſe "theſe ſpeeches, that he had drawn his ſword "theſe thirteen years againſt the Preſbyterians, "and would not ſheath it yet;" and no doubt he ſpoke the paſſions of Mr. Blagrave, whoſe tool probably he was.

He was one of the few of the Rump who could obtain a ſeat in the Convention Parliament; but finding the danger of remaining longer in the kingdom, he effected his eſcape to the Continent, or America, and ſo well concealed himſelf, that he never more was heard of.

George Blagrave, of Surcott, and of Reading, Eſq. and Alexander Blagrave, of Surcott, Eſq. were no doubt his near relations; as were Colo-

nel William Blagrave, Esq. seated in Northumberland, and John Blagrave, of Arborfield, in Berks, Esq. both of whom were set down in the list of the knights of the royal oak, an order of knighthood intended to have been established by King Charles II. after his restoration, to commemorate his escape in an oak after the battle of Worcester; the former of these gentlemen's estate was valued at 600l. the other at 2000l. per annum. George and John were committee-men in 1657, and therefore trusted by, and employed in, Oliver's protectorate.

The Life of THOMAS BLUNT, *Esq.*

THOMAS BLUNT, Esq. was so obscure a person, that I am not able to ascertain who he was, or any thing whatever relative to him, and the common name he had tends to obscure him; but it is to his honour that he wholly avoided any participation in this act that disgraces our annals.

The Life of DENNIS BOND, *Eſq.*

DENNIS BOND, Eſq. was of a good family in Dorſetſhire whoſe anceſtors removed thither in the ninth year of King Henry VI.'s reign from the county of Somerſet, but he was brought up to trade, being a woollen-draper at Dorcheſter, and an alderman of that town. He was returned in the fifteenth and ſixteenth years of the reign of King Charles I. a member of parliament for the borough of Dorcheſter, with Denzil Hollis, Eſq. afterwards created Lord Hollis.

He ſoon roſe ſuperior to his ſtation, acquiring great power and conſequence with the republican party; but though he had a real and fixed averſion to King Charles I.'s government, and probably to his perſon, yet he could not be prevailed upon perſonally to contribute to his death.

Mr. Bond was greatly truſted both by the long parliament and by the protector Oliver; from the commencement of the civil war he was of the committee for his own county, was one of the Council of State in 1649 and 1651, and proved on every occaſion, that he was a perſon of great capacity, and much policy, which was evinced in nothing more than in the proviſion he procured for his family; obtaining the government of Portland, and the office of receiver of his majeſty's rents in the counties of Somerſet and Southampton for himſelf. For John, one of his ſons, the maſterſhip of the Savoy, and afterwards

of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, which he held with the Law Profeſſors of Greſham-College, and for another the place of Auditor of the Exciſe, then worth 500l per annum.

He died Auguſt 30, 1658, the day of the extreme high wind, when it being ſo near the time of the protector's death, the loyaliſts jeſtingly ſaid "the Devil took Bond for Oliver's appearance."

I apprehend he had four ſons; 1, Nathaniel, a councellor, a member of Parliament for Corfe Caſtle 31 King Charles II. and for Dorcheſter 7 King William III. whoſe ſon and heir was Dennis Bond, Eſq. a repreſentative alſo for Corfe Caſtle, who married a daughter of Edmund Dummer, Eſq. and widow of Valentine Knightley of Fawſley in Northamptonſhire, Eſq. This lady's mother was Sophia, daughter of Sir William Dutton Colt, Knt. born whilſt her father was reſident at the court of Hanover, and who received her baptiſmal name from her godmother the Princeſs Sophia, mother of King George I. 2, John Bond, LL.D. a divine, a civilian, and a legiſlator, having been a member of Parliament for Melcombe Regis; loſing his profeſſor's place, and his maſterſhip at the reſtoration, he retired into Dorſetſhire, and died at Sandwich in the Iſle of Purbeck, a few miles from Steeple, to which his corpſe was conveyed, and interred in the church-yard July 30, 1676. He was one of the many who wrote political tracts under religious titles, and in ſcripture language, to ſerve the party

he engaged with. 3, Elias Bond, of Warham in Dorſetſhire, who was buried at Steeple, November 15, 1680; and, 4, William Bond, who had a ſeat at Blackington near Lutton, in Dorſetſhire; he died September 7, 1669, and was buried at Wareham.

There were few perſons more diſliked by the violent partizans of King Charles I. than Mr. Dennis Bond; and the great ſhare of the elder protector's confidence which he poſſeſſed did not leſſen their hatred; numerous are the reflections caſt upon him; but as there has no particular circumſtance of tyranny or peculation been ſubſtantiated againſt him, we muſt attribute it only to party ſpirit. Poſſeſſing very ſuperior abilities, he directed his conduct ſo as to obtain what he could for his own and his family's aggrandizement without doing any private injury; and he contributed all he could to render the public ſuch ſervices as the times were capable of, conſiſtently with the bias of his political ſentiments. I am induced from theſe ideas which I have formed of him, to vindicate a character often vehemently traduced, and whom, had he ſurvived the return of his ſovereign, might, from the odium he experienced as the favourite of Cromwell, have experienced great hardſhips, unleſs his good ſenſe had diſcovered how to take off the edge of popular reſentment.

The Life of Sir JOHN BOURCHIER, *Knt.*

Sir John Bourchier was of a knightly family, ſeated at Benningborough, deſcended from James Bourchier, natural ſon of John Bourchier Lord Berners, a family which had given Earls of Ewe in Normandy, and of Eſſex in England, and from whom had ſprung a Cardinal, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Barons Cromwell and Fitzwarren.

James Bourchier, mentioned above, married Mary, daughter of Sir Humphry Baniſter, by whom he had his oldeſt ſon and heir, Sir Ralph Bourchier, Knt. who married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hall, Eſq. and Chriſtian, daughter of Rowland Shakerley; by the latter he had no iſſue; by the former, William Bourchier, Eſq. who died in 1584; who left, by the daughter of Sir Thomas Barrington, of Hatfield Broad Oak, in Eſſex, Bart. Robert, who died unmarried; Sir John, who became his heir; Thomas; and three daughters.

Sir John Bourchier was of great conſequence in the reign of King James I. and had been one of the adventurers to Virginia, who ſubſcribed to eſtabliſh a colony there in the year 1620. He took a very decided part in deſtroying the King, attending in the Painted Chamber each day, except the 10th, 13th, 15th, 18th, and 26th, and every ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall, and alſo ſigned the warrant.

After that great national misfortune, the violent death of the King, he became one of the chief rulers of the nation; and, in 1650-1, he was elected a member of the council of ſtate. Being a rigid independent and republican, he was very diſſatisfied with Cromwell's uſurpation, who, to keep him quiet, made him one of his committee for the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire.

He juſt ſurvived the reſtoration, but on account of his age and infirmities, obtained permiſſion to remain a priſoner in the houſe of his daughter. Had he lived, his life would have been forfeited; but happily he died where he was, in a ſort of energy to defend the action, which his relations ſaw in its proper and odious light; and, whilſt they were perſuading him to repent, though he had not moved ſome days before, he got up, and having ſaid "it was a juſt act, and all good "men will own it," he calmly ſat down, and expired. He therefore eſcaped the pain and ſhame of a public trial, and perhaps execution; but as his name was inſerted in the act of parliament attainting him with the other regicides, his fortune, whatever it was, became loſt to his family.

He married Ann, daughter and heir of William Rolf, of Hadley, in the county of Suffolk, by whom he had three ſons, Barrington, William, and John, both of whom died unmarried; and a daughter, Bridget, married to William Bethall, D. D.

Barrington Bourchier, Eſq. his heir, was aged

thirty-eight in 1665; he married Frances, eldeſt daughter of Sir William Strickland, of Boynton, Knt. and Bart. by whom he left

Sir Barrington Bourchier, Knt. born in 1654, and ſeated at Benningborough, and ſet down as poſſeſſing 1000 l. per annum, amongſt ſuch who were deſigned to have been Knights of the Royal Oak, a ſtrange circumſtance for the grandſon of a regicide to be ſo diſtinguiſhed; and proves, that King Charles II., who, with all his ill qualities, poſſeſſed mercy in an eminent degree, had reinſtated the family in their paternal eſtates, and perhaps very properly, for Sir Barrington might be loyal though deſcended from a traitor. He married thrice; firſt, Judith, daughter of Mark Milbanke, Eſq. alderman, and twice Mayor of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and ſheriff of Northumberland, who, after contributing to the purſe of the exiled king, greatly exerted himſelf to promote his reſtoration to the throne of his anceſtors; ſecondly, Margaret, daughter and coheir of Thomas Hardwick, Eſq. and his third wife was the daughter of Sir —— Dalſton, Knt. By the firſt, he had Sir Barrington Bourchier, who died, leaving no child by his lady, a daughter of Sir Francis Compton, ſon of Spencer, Earl of Northampton; and Mark, who alſo left no iſſue; by the ſecond marriage he had John, who became his heir, who, by Mary, daughter of —— Belwood, Eſq. ſerjeant at law, left two children, John and Mary.

The Life of THOMAS BOON, *Esq.*

THOMAS BOON, Esq. was, I suppose, one of the many adventurers, in these times of distraction, when some sensible active men, by a pretended zeal for the popular cause, took an opportunity of enriching themselves out of the estates of the persecuted loyalists. Such appears to have been Mr. Boon, who did not come into play until the civil war was over, but time enough to reap the benefit of it. Upon a vacancy in the long parliament, he was returned a member for the borough of Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardness, in Devonshire.

He was too wise, at least, to accept a place in the high court of justice, which sat upon his unhappy sovereign, though he was extremely active as one of Cromwell's committee for the county of Dorset.

Mr. Boon was employed in various public departments, and in 1659, he was one of the parliament's plenipotentiaries in the Sound; by his places he greatly improved the small stock he set out with, receiving, it is said, 6000l. in the scandalous employment of sequestrator, which, with other such ways, he raised a vast estate, and, though extremely disliked, he met security and protection at the restoration, at which time he is mentioned by Blome, in his Britannia, amongst the gentry, where he is called Thomas Boone, of Mount-Boon; and, as a mean the better to hide his original obscurity, he pretended to be de-

ſcended from the great Bohun family, who were earls of Hereford, and that his name, Boon or Boone, was only a corruption of Bohun; though the Myſtery of the Good Old Cauſe ſays, that he was originally an humble tapſter.

He left two daughters and coheirs; Mary, married to John Oldbury of London, merchant; and Ann, who became the lady of Sir Francis Drake, Bart. by whom ſhe had no iſſue. But the blood of Mr. Boon flows in the veins of ſeveral ennobled families, by the great alliances the deſcendants of his daughter Mary made; Mr. Oldbury, like him, having only coheirs, who married extremely fortunately.

The Life of Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, *Bart.*

Sir William Brereton, of Hanford, in the county of Cheſter, created a baronet by King Charles I. March 10, 1626, was deſcended of a long line of anceſtry; was returned a member of parliament for Cheſhire in 1640, and immediately diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the court, from his confirmed diſlike to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment; and took the Proteſtation; immediately as a war was determined, he went into the army, and by his ſkill and bravery he was one of the greateſt friends the parliament had: his military career was wonderful.

He left London in 1643, with a troop of horſe and a regiment of dragoons, with which he marched into Cheſhire, and fortified Namptwich, as a check upon the King's friends, who had done the ſame to the city of Cheſter; at firſt he was deſpiſed by Lord Capel, his majeſty's lieutenant-general of Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and North Wales; but his extreme attention to his forces, his popularity, the ſobriety he eſtabliſhed in his army, and the punctuality with which he was enabled by the parliament to pay them, ſoon gave him the moſt decided ſuperiority. When the Earl of Northampton had driven the parliament garriſon out of Litchfield, he, with Sir John Gell, marched thither with three thouſand horſe and foot, and attacked that nobleman; but

though they were repulſed from the Cloſe, yet it greatly injured the king, by having the loyal and brave Northampton fall in the engagement, at Hopton Heath, near Stafford, whither they had followed his Lordſhip, and had again been driven from the field of battle; but taking with them the corpſe of ſo great a man, they ſeemed to themſelves victorious, for they demanded, when the young Earl aſked, with filial piety, the body to convey to the family ſepulchre, that they would have in exchange for it all the ammunition, cannon, and priſoners they had loſt; and when the extravagant propoſition was refuſed, they would not give up the body, nor ſuffer a ſurgeon to come and embalm it.

In this ſame year he took Eccleſhall Caſtle, the ſeat of the Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, defeated a party of forces of Lord Capel, under Colonel Haſtings, and jointly with Sir Thomas Middleton, took Holt Caſtle, in Shropſhire, and other places in that county, for which important ſervices the parliament gave him and Sir Thomas power to ſequeſtrate the property of the loyaliſts, and levy money in Wales, in the ſame manner as they had authorized the Earl of Manchester in the aſſociated counties.

Soon after he fell upon the rear of Lord Byron's forces, and defeated them when they had ſurprized and routed a party of forces of Colonel Aſhton, of Lancaſhire, who was marching to join him; he then uniting his army with that of Sir Thomas Fairfax, marched to relieve Namptwich,

and obtained one of the greateſt and moſt important victories that was won during the whole war, and with as little loſs to themſelves; amongſt the great number of officers taken priſoners, was Colonel Monk, who afterwards made ſo very conſpicuous a figure in our hiſtory.

His fame and importance was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that the parliament took every method to gratify him, making him, in 1644, Major General of Cheſhire, and the adjacent parts, with the ſame powers as in other aſſociations. He was ſoon after ordered to join Sir William Waller by the parliament, who placed Sir William at the head of thoſe forces commanded by him, Lord Denbigh, and Colonels Maſſey, Mitton, and Rigby; but he was preſently ſent with Middleton to aſſault the garriſon of Cheſter; and killed Colonel Mitton, who made a ſortie againſt them; and when Prince Rupert the next morning attacked them with two of his beſt regiments of horſe, and a party of foot, they beat him back again into the city, with the loſs, in killed and wounded, of at leaſt four hundred.

He then ſeparating from Middleton, who was ordered elſewhere, conducted the war with equal prudence, ſending Colonel Jones againſt a party of Prince Rupert's horſe, conſiſting of two thouſand; of theſe, in the action fought near Malpas, in Cheſhire, he took one hundred and forty, two Majors, with many inferior officers and ſoldiers, killed Colonels Baines and Conniers, with three Majors, and one hundred of the common men;

wounded the gallant Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and forced the defeated brigade to haſten with the utmoſt diſpatch back again to Cheſter.

Sir William ſoon after in perſon attacked and defeated the Earl of Derby in his way to relieve Liverpool, killing and taking five hundred of the loyaliſts, and putting the remainder to the rout; and aſſiſted in retaking Montgomery Caſtle, with a moſt decided defeat of the royal army, ſo that it turned the ſcale in favour of the parliament in Wales. They were ſo pleaſed with his conduct, that they ſent him their thanks, and, what was more acceptable, gave him the ſupplies he wanted.

Continuing his career, he defeated another party of the royaliſts in Cheſhire, and then marching to Cheſter, blocked it up, and from thence went to Liverpool; the Iriſh ſoldiers in garriſon there betrayed it to Sir John Meldrum, who was with Sir William; ſecuring this place, he haſted to Stafford, and prevented its being delivered up into the hands of the King; and when a large force fell upon his quarters at Beeſton Caſtle, which he was beſieging, he ſent Lieutenant-colonel Jones, at the head of a body of horſe, and Major Lothian, who commanded the foot, who completely defeated the brigade, killing many, and took Colonels Worden and Ware, with many others of inferior rank. He was equally ſucceſsful in gaining Patteſhall Houſe, which was a ſtrong garriſon, and very obnoxious, as kept chiefly by the Roman Catholic gentry; this he obtained by ſurpriſal, ſending Captain Stone thither with a ſmall

but gallant force. Another party he ſent againſt Holtbridge, where he was as fortunate; he put garriſons in each.

Himſelf attended to the ſiege of thoſe two important places, Beeſton Caſtle and Cheſter, but theſe he ſoon after left to the care of his officers, whilſt he marched out with ſome additional forces to watch the motions of Prince Maurice, who durſt not attack him; whilſt the forces he commanded took Apſley-Houſe in Shropſhire; and ſoon after Shrewſbury fell, having long reſiſted every attempt to take it, and the caſtle; but in a little while Prince Rupert, his brother Maurice, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, having united their ſtrength, the committee at Namptwich informed the parliament, that Sir William would be in great danger if not ſpeedily relieved; who immediately ordered the letter to be ſent to the committee of both kingdoms, requeſting that a party of Scotch horſe, and dragoons might advance towards him, with a ſuitable ſupply for the troops under his command.

Sir William ſoon after ſent to inform the parliament that he was enabled to keep the field, and that the enemy had performed nothing againſt him, but had been guilty of plundering the country, committing many hundred rapes and cruelties, and that the Scotch horſe were advanced as far as Mancheſter to join him. It was a melancholy truth that there was no diſcipline in the royal armies, who being ill paid, took very great liberties, which it was impoſſible their officers

could check, as they ought, and wiſhed to do; but it is equally true that the parliament party conſtantly exaggerated all their foibles into crimes; for few ſuch enormities as are here complained of were committed during the war; but it is the nature of men who are fighting againſt their lawful governors, to make every excuſe they can to ſanction their conduct.

Receiving ſupplies, he again, in 1645 acted upon the offenſive, ſapping Hawarden Caſtle, and taking Goozanna Houſe, and in it a captain, twenty-ſeven priſoners, and ſome officers, and from thence blocked up Cheſter on the Welch ſide, gained Manley Houſe, killed ſome, and took priſoner a captain, and others, and then threw a bridge over the River Dee to ſupply his forces on both ſides of Cheſter. The Earl of Leven ſoon after ſent him a detachment from his army.

When the Self-denying Ordinance paſſed, his ſervices in the field were too great for the parliament to recall his commiſſion, they therefore paſſed a vote to retain him ſtill in the army for forty days longer, and at the expiration of that period it was ſtill prolonged.

It was no ſmall mortification to him to retire from Cheſter and give his majeſty the power of relieving it, but he was not able longer to remain before it; he therefore ſtruck his tents and marched into Lancaſhire to join the Scottiſh forces, and gaining aſſiſtance, he was enabled immediately, almoſt, to return into Cheſhire, and retake Beeſton Caſtle, and from thence to march to

Cheſter, Colonel Booth, by order of parliament, joining him with the Lancaſhire forces: he carried on the ſiege with great vigour, but he could not prevail upon Lord Byron, the governor, to ſurrender it, but upon very high terms, and therefore the parliament again enlarged the time of his command another forty days.

Sir William renewed his ſummons; but obtaining no anſwer to his demand, and five days having elapſed, he ſent a letter inſiſting upon knowing the determination of the governor, who promiſed to treat with him, if the king did not relieve them within twelve days, requeſting permiſſion to ſend a paſs to his majeſty; but this he refuſed, and the treaty was on that account ſuſpended. By his vigilance he took a letter that they had written to Oxford, in which Lord Byron informed the King "that if they had not relief by the laſt of "January, then of neceſſity they muſt ſurrender "Cheſter."

Sir William ſoon after wrote to Lenthal, ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, that he had wiſhed to preſerve Cheſter from ruin, and had therefore invited the beſieged to a treaty, but that they had delayed to end it, though it had been continued for ten days, becauſe they thought of relief being given them by Aſhley, Vaughan, the Iriſh, and Welch, and by a new force lately come from Ireland, whom he had in vain endeavoured to ſurpriſe upon their landing in Angleſey; but, though he had not been able to effect that, he had, by ſending Colonel Milton againſt them,

prevented a junction, which had ſo diſpirited the garriſon, that at length they opened a treaty; and, to ſhew that he was deſirous to give them every ſatisfaction, he was willing to have more commiſſioners, judging that this conduct would make the officers in the garriſon better pleaſed, and by it enable them to oblige the ſoldiers under their command to fulfil their engagements with punctuality: the garriſon, he farther related, wanted more time; but it being abſolutely denied, a treaty was concluded, by which all the ammunition, arms, ordnance, proviſions, the ſeal of the county palatine, ſwords, and all the records, were preſerved. Thus did he procure Cheſter, far the moſt valuable place in that part of the kingdom, which the parliament confided to the care of Alderman Edwards, of that city, appointing him colonel of the regiment ſtationed there.

Having ſecured Cheſhire, he haſted to Lichfield, which he obtained with the loſs of only three men killed, and a few wounded; and almoſt as few ſlain of the royaliſts, whom, though more than a thouſand horſe and foot, he drove before him into the Cloſe.

He then joining with Colonel Morgan, governor of Glouceſter, marched againſt Sir Jacob Aſtley, who was conducting a large force into Oxfordſhire; he overtook Sir Jacob at Stow, on the Would, on the borders of Glouceſterſhire; the conteſt was as obſtinate as the matter was momentous; the attack was extremely violent; the royaliſts' word was, "Patrick and George;" the

parliamentarians, " God be our guide;" but at laſt the former were obliged to ſubmit, and the victory was as complete as it was conſequential; Sir Jacob was wounded, and taken priſoner, with about ſixteen hundred others, many of them of the higher gentry, and they loſt their carriages, arms, baggage, and every thing elſe; ſo that, as it was almoſt the laſt hope of the king, Sir Jacob Aſtley emphatically ſaid to ſome of the parliament officers, " now you have done your work, " and may go and play, unleſs you fall out amongſt " yourſelves."

This indefatigable commander, joining Colonels Morgan and Birch, marched to Worceſter, and ſummoned it to ſurrender, aſſuring the inhabitants that his majeſty was unable, for want of forces, to relieve it: to which they anſwered, that " if it " had been ſo, they ſuppoſed they ſhould have " known the king's pleaſure therein; until when, " they would not ſurrender the place." The beſiegers knowing how impoſſible it was for them to hold out, and to convince the garriſon of the truth of what they had told them, retired a little; but, not to be idle, they fell ſuddenly upon Bridgenorth, took the town by ſtorm, and drove the ſoldiers into the caſtle, which they cloſely beſieged.

Leaving troops to act againſt both the city and town, he haſtened with great rapidity to Lichfield, to ſummon the royal garriſon who were in the Cloſe, telling them the danger and folly of holding out, by ſhewing them the various ſucceſſes which had attended the parliament arms at

Stow, by the victory over Sir Jacob Aſtley, the capture of Exeter, Barnſtaple, and other places; and having obtained this, July 16 he went to, and took Tutbury Caſtle, in Staffordſhire, and ſoon after Bridgenorth, by thoſe he had left there; he next attacked Dudley Caſtle, which agreed to ſurrender upon articles, which, the parliament approving of, were accepted.

Having now done his ample ſhare in the complete ruin of the royal cauſe, he came to attend his duty in parliament, where he was received by them as his ſkill, valour, and activity, deſerved; the ſpeaker, by the order of the Houſe, giving him their thanks for his important ſervices, but more particularly for taking Cheſter; this was June 22, and the 8th of the following month they paſſed an order for ſtating the accounts of Sir William as major-general, and for giving 500l. for the forces which were before Lichfield, and that he ſhould go down to that ill-fated city, which again was beſieged; thither he repaired, and ſoon obtained a ſurrender of it upon articles, by which he gained all their ordnance, arms, and ammunition. This I think was Sir William's laſt military exploit, and in which he was exceeded by few, of the many, who commanded in this unhappy war, and there was little to do in arms after this time; for the parliament had every where conquered, and the crown lay proſtrate at the feet of the two Houſes, which if they had then taken the advantage of, a legal, and ſomewhat temperate, ſettlement might have been made; but

deferring it until the army became all powerful, they made the imperious Commons the tools of their lawleſs tyranny and impious crimes.

Sir William, however, ſeems more to have wiſhed to injure the church, than ruin the monarch, for he could not be prevailed upon to take any part in the violent death of the king. He had no other merit, but that of a military nature, we may preſume; for except in 1646 his being named as a commiſſioner for conſerving the peace between the Engliſh and Scotch, I do not ſee him noticed until 1656, ten years afterwards, when he put up for a member for his county to ſit in Oliver's parliament; but it appears by a letter of Major-general Tobias Bridge to the protector, dated from Middlewiche, that Sir William "had "been beſtirring himſelf what he can by himſelf "and agents, to procure voices; but I find," ſays the major-general, "his intereſt amongſt "the gentlemen very little; only ſome of the "rigid clergy cry him up," meaning no doubt the preſbyterian ones; and as Bridge propoſed to his highneſs Colonel Croxton, Meſſrs. Marbury, Hide, and Manning, it ſhews that he had no wiſh to have him returned. It is ſeen from this, that he had loſt his popularity in his native county; and probably he lived to repent of his own victories. He died before the reſtoration, and was ſucceeded in his title by Sir Thomas Brereton, Bart.; the male line failing, it is now extinct. He had a relation alſo named William, created by King Charles I. Baron Brereton of the kingdom

of Ireland, who was as eminently loyal as he was otherwiſe: he fell into the hands of the parliament, whom in 1644 his lordſhip petitioned to exchange him for Sir John Northeſt, but which they refuſed, alledging as their reaſon for denying his ſuit, that he muſt firſt give ſatisfaction for his having killed ſeveral of their friends in cold blood at Namptwich; but in the following year they accepted Sir John Harcourt, one of their members, for him; his lordſhip ſurviving the reſtoration was returned a member for Cheſhire in King Charles II.'s ſecond parliament, and died whilſt it was ſitting. There is a ſmall engraved portrait of Sir William Brereton in Rycraft's book.

The Life of GODFREY BOSVILE, *Esq.*

GODFREY BOSVILE, Esq. was descended of a knightly family, seated at Gunthwaite, in the county of York. He was returned one of the representatives for the borough of Warwick in 1640; and thus obtaining a seat in the long parliament, and having a prodigious prejudice against the court, he became extremely popular in the House. He took the protestation, and in return for his earnestness in their cause, they appointed him one of their committee for his native county, for that of Warwick, and for the city of Coventry.

When the sword was unhappily drawn in the fatal quarrel between the king and the parliament, he obtained a commission in the army of the latter, and he rose to the rank of colonel. He distinguished himself, in 1643, by marching from Coventry with eight hundred horse, and taking with them the garrisoned house of Sir Thomas Holt by storm, and in it eighty prisoners, and much property of various kinds, besides money and plate to a considerable amount. In 1644 he assisted Colonel Purefoy, of Warwickshire, at the siege of Banbury.

The garbled parliament put his name as one of the commissioners of the high court of justice to try the king, but he prudently declined taking any part whatever in the blackest transactions

that ſtains our hiſtoric pages. After the death of his ſovereign, he probably retired very much from public concerns. In the protectorate of Oliver, his name is omitted in all the committees he had been of; yet he was living at the reſtoration, for he is mentioned as an obnoxious character in the Myſtery of the Good Old Cauſe. His family ſtill retain their ſeat, which is now the property of Godfrey Boſvile, Eſq.

The Life of JOHN BROWN, *Eſq.*

JOHN BROWN, Eſq. was returned a member of parliament in 1640 for the county of Dorſet, and, joining againſt the king, was made a committee-man for his own county, where his family, from their wealth, was of much conſequence; and he continued with his party in all their extravagant exceſſes, which occaſioned, we may ſuppoſe, his being named one of the commiſſioners appointed to try the ſovereign; and he ſat in the Painted Chamber upon the 8th of January, the 12th, 13th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 25th, and 27th, and in Weſtminſter Hall the 20th; but, fortunately for himſelf, not upon the laſt day, when ſentence was given, nor ſigned the warrant for execution.

He was continued, by the Protector Oliver, in his odious office of a committee-man, and is accuſed of having ſeized ſtock and goods, to the amount of one thouſand pounds, belonging to a farmer of the name of Wades, in Portland, whom, though the committee acquitted of malignancy, by which they meant loyalty, yet he could not recover the property, nor the value of it, he being a member of the Houſe. He ſurvived the reſtoration; but, as he was not ſo immediately guilty in the king's death, not having appeared at the laſt part of the trial, nor ſigned the warrant, he was not proſecuted for it, ſo humane were Charles and his

council to men who were become odious beyond belief at that time.

He married a ſiſter of Sir Richard Trenchard. The name, being ſo very common, it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to diſtinguiſh his actions from ſome of the many others who were engaged in the quarrel on the parliament ſide; I have, therefore, ſaid the leſs of him, that I might not give erroneous information.

The Life of ABRAHAM BURRELL, *Esq.*

MR. ABRAHAM BURRELL was a gentleman of the county of Huntingdon, and had a landed property alſo in that of Somerſet, and is noticed only for his refuſal to contribute to the carrying on of the war with the Scotch in 1639, which endeared him to the parliament, ſoon after aſſembled. Whatever might have been his ſentiments relative to government, he was prudent enough to refuſe ſitting as a commiſſioner to try his ſovereign, or to have any other concern in the dreadful ſcene. He was one of the committee for the county of Huntingdon, and, probably, perſonally known to the Protector Oliver, before the long parliament was called. He was living in 1657, ſo that he might have ſurvived the reſtoration.

The Life of JOHN CAREW, *Esq.*

JOHN CAREW, Esq. was descended of the ancient and very respectable family of Carew of Anthony, in Cornwall; he was the second of three sons of Sir Richard Carew, created a baronet by King Charles I., August 9, 1641; his eldest brother, Sir Alexander Carew, Bart., who was one of the knights for the county of Cornwall in 1640, and who, from being a partizan of the parliament, "deserted" to the king, as the former termed it, which, as he had received a commission in their army, and was governor of St. Nicholas' Island, near Plymouth, subjected him to be tried by a court martial, which sentenced him to die, and he was executed for it, by beheading, on Tower-hill, December 23, 1644: he was unsteady and wavering; his estate was large, and he feared losing it, as the king's successes were great near him; these circumstances made him willing to desert an interest he did not disavow at his death, where he acted very inconsistently, though he affected great religion and humility. Sir Thomas Carew, the third brother, was knighted by King Charles I. and was seated at Barley, in the county of Devon, and left several children.

It was necessary to say so much of this gentleman's family, as it was conspicuous in the unhappy transactions of the last century.

John Carew, Esq., the subject of this history, was returned to serve in the long parliament, as

one of the members for the borough of Tregony, in Cornwall; and, in 1646, he was one of the commiſſioners to receive the king at Holdenby. His conſtant affection to the cauſe of the parliament, though they had uſed ſuch extreme ſeverity againſt his brother, occaſioned his being named in the commiſſion to try the king, and they were not miſtaken in their ſentiments reſpecting him, for he ſat every day, both in the Painted Chamber and in Weſtminſter Hall, in which they met, and ſigned the warrant for the execution.

He appears altogether to have been a tool to the republican and fanatical party, who laid him aſide as ſoon as he had performed what they wiſhed; for neither the parliament nor the protectors ever employed him in any manner; nor was he, until his friends obtained the reigns of government again, in 1659. Indeed he became ſo wild a viſionary, as a fifth monarchy-man, that he looked upon human government as an encroachment upon the Meſſiah's kingdom, which he flattered himſelf with ſoon ſeeing eſtabliſhed upon earth, ſo that he was utterly incapable of any ſober judgment or diſcretion. He viewed King Charles I. and the Protector Oliver as equally uſurpers againſt Chriſt; and he had been ſo idle in his conduct, that he, with Harriſon and others, had been impriſoned by Cromwell, firſt at Pendennis, in Cornwall, but afterwards confined only in his own houſe.

At the reſtoration he publicly ſet out to come to London, in obedience to the order of parlia-

ment for all the king's judges to ſurrender themſelves in that city within fourteen days; being known, he was apprehended by a warrant from a juſtice of the peace; but though his name was miſtaken in the warrant, and the officer refuſed to detain him until the error was rectified, he took no advantage of it, but told him he was the perſon meant, he believed, acquainting him whither, and for what purpoſe, he was going; and though this was within the fourteen days, yet when application was made to the parliament to adjudge it a ſurrender in obedience to their proclamation, they would not admit it, excepting him both as to life and eſtate abſolutely, without any farther delay of execution, if he ſhould be found guilty.

He was brought to his trial before judge Foſter, October 12, 1660; he was ſet at the bar with Scot, Jones, and Clement, but on account of their ſeveral challenges he was tried alone. It was with great difficulty he could be prevailed upon to ſay, "not guilty," and when he complied, he ſubjoined to the next uſual anſwer, by God and his country, "ſaving to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's right "to the government of theſe kingdoms."

He then challenged twenty-three of the jury, and being told by the lord chief baron, that he might have pen, ink, and paper, he declined it, having, as he ſaid, no occaſion for them. It was proved that he was in the court the laſt day, when ſentence was paſſed upon the king, and that he ſigned the warrant of execution. When called

upon for his defence, he launched out into a wild extravagant vindication of what he had done; but ſaying that "he had not done it becauſe he "had not the fear of God before his eyes, nor been "moved thereto by the devil, but in the fear of "God, and in obedience to his holy and righteous "laws," the people were ſo ſhocked, that they interrupted him; the judge, however, very properly obſerved he ſtood for his life, and deſired them to let him have liberty; and when he had permiſſion to proceed, he again ſet out in ſo extravagant and criminal a manner, vindicating it as a fact which the Lord had given anſwer to upon ſolemn appeals, that he was interrupted by the judge, who told him of the imprudence of his conduct, in making ſo much of his prelude, to a confeſſion of the facts ſtated againſt him, telling him, that to hear him making diſcourſes and debates, which are a juſtification of a horrid and notorious treaſon, was not to be ſuffered, it was treaſon of itſelf; concluding that he, and thoſe who ſat with him, were upon their conſciences, and muſt appear before God for what they ſhould do; and ſo, ſays the judge, are you too; but "remember "the devil ſometimes appears in the habit of "an angel of light;" and then gave him permiſſion to ſpeak what he wiſhed in a few words, though it was beyond the ſtrict rules of the law; but he ſtill perſiſting to juſtify what was done, as having been appointed under an act of parliament, and vindicating it upon that ground, he was, after various interruptions, ſtopped from proceeding,

until he had pleaded to the fact, upon which he confeſſed giving ſentence and ſigning the warrant, when leave was given him to ſpeak to the matter of law; but here again he launched out to ſtate the grounds of the quarrel between the late king and his parliament; and when prevented from proceeding, by being told that the Houſe of Commons could not of themſelves make an act of parliament, nor was it the Houſe of Commons that had made it, for only 46 were permitted at that time to ſit, and of thoſe only 26 voted it. He ſeemed to urge the expediency of it, by ſaying, "neither was there ever ſuch a war, or ſuch a "preſident;" and when the court abſolutely refuſed to hear any more of ſuch vindications, he replied, "I deſire I may be heard. I have not "compaſſed the death of the late king, contrived "the death of the king; what I did I did by au-"thority."

Lord Anſley then acquainted him, that he was preſent in the Houſe of Commons when the vote paſſed for the agreement with the king in the treaty of the Iſle of Wight; that his majeſty had condeſcended to moſt of the deſires of the parliament, who agreed that they were ſufficient for the grounds of a peace; but that what he urged as an authority for acting under, was no parliament, and could give no ſuch authority, and therefore it was no juſtification for him, he being indicted under a clear act of parliament of 25 Edward III. though he defended himſelf under what was not an act of parliament.

Mr. Carew replied, " I am a ſtranger to many " of theſe things which you have offered; and " this is ſtrange; you give evidence ſitting as a " judge." To whom the chief baron ſaid " you " are miſtaken, it is not evidence, he ſhews " you what authority that was, an authority of " twenty-ſix members: how is this evidence? " Mr. Carew, if you have any thing more of fact, " go on; if you have nothing, but according to " this kind of diſcourſe, I am commanded to di- " rect the jury."

He then ſaid, " I am very willing to leave it " with the Lord, if you will ſtop me, that I can- " not open the true nature of thoſe things that " did give me ground of ſatisfaction in my con- " ſcience, that I did it from the Lord." The ſo- licitor-general with vehemence applied to have him ſtopped in his ſhocking extravagance, tel- ling him, " you have been ſuffered to ſpeak, you " have ſaid but little, only ſedition; you pre- " tend a conſcience, and the fear of the Lord, " when all the world knows you did it againſt the " law of the Lord, your own conſcience, the " light of nature, and the laws of the land, againſt " the oath you have taken of allegiance and ſu- " premacy."

Seeing all his defence was to no purpoſe, when given to his judges, he addreſſing the " gentle- " men of the jury," ſaid, " I ſay I ſhall leave it " with you. This authority I ſpeak of is right, " which was the ſupreme power; it is well known " what they were;" the counſel ſaid, " it is ſo in-

" deed, many have known what they were;" and the lord chief baron addreſſed him thus: " You " have been heard what, and beyond what, was fit " to ſay in your defence; that which you have " ſaid, the heads of it you ſee the court hath " over-ruled. To ſuffer you to expatiate againſt " God and the king by blaſphemy, is not to be " endured; it is ſuffering poiſon to go about to " infect people; but they know now too well the " old ſaying, *in nomine Domine*, in the name of " the Lord, all miſchiefs have been done; that " hath been an old rule. I muſt now give di- " rections to the jury; but the priſoner inter- rupting, ſaid, " I have deſired to ſpeak the words " of truth and ſoberneſs, but have been hin- " dered;" the judge however proceeded in the charge to the jury, who after a very ſmall time of conſultation, returned their verdict Guilty; and being aſked what goods or chattels he had, ſaid none that they knew of; and though all the others arraigned with him, when aſked why ſentence ſhould not be given, threw themſelves upon the king's mercy, he ſaid, " I commit my cauſe unto " the Lord."

Ludlow, who was himſelf equally guilty, ſeems to think he had not ſtrict juſtice ſhewn him; but it is wonderful, that when he would not permit his ſovereign to ſpeak or argue upon the legality of a court, ſuch as the world had never before ſeen, and which never can be lawful, he ſhould doubt the validity of that which tried him. It was extraordinary too that he ſhould think God

owned their cauſe, becauſe they were ſucceſsful in their projects, when it was an argument againſt himſelf, going to ſuffer for it, by a turn of the tide; beſides, if ſucceſs made actions virtuous, the vileſt acts may be reconciled to religion, and ſaid to be effected with the approbation of God; it is ſo monſtrous a propoſition, that murderers, and every other the moſt infamous of men, may go on and triumph in their wickedneſs, as choſen veſſels, who are encouraged and protected by the Deity.

During the time of his ſubſequent impriſonment, and until his execution at Charing Croſs, Nov. 15, 1660, he had all the raptures and extaſies of enthuſiaſm; he gloried in his death, ſaying to his friends, "I die not in the Lord only, "but for the Lord;" he prayed "the Lord to "preſerve them all from the portion of this ge-"neration." Of his extraordinary merit and ſanctification he had not the ſmalleſt doubt; "the "Lord, ſaid he, "will bring my blood to cry "with the reſt of the martyrs;" a martyr he deluded himſelf with thinking he was for Chriſt, whom he thought would ſoon viſibly appear, and he told the Lord's people to wait patiently, "and "he that ſhall come, will come, and will not "tarry." To ſome of his friends he ſent word, "that this was the laſt beaſt, and his rage was "great, becauſe his time was ſhort." When he was told that Major-general Harriſon was put to death, he ſaid, "Well! my turn will be next, "and as we have gone along in our lives, ſo we

" muſt be one in our deaths." Harriſon was alſo a Millenarian. When his relations ſhed tears at taking their leave of him, he rebuked them, glorifying that he was " counted worthy to be a " witneſs of this cauſe." At the gallows his language was blaſphemouſly enthuſiaſtical; evincing the wildneſs of his religious opinions. Amongſt the number of his uncommon ſentences in his long harangue to the people, he told them, " there are many things laid upon many of thoſe " that profeſs the kingdom, and glorious appear- " ance of Jeſus Chriſt, as if they were enemies to " magiſtracy and miniſtry; and, as if we were for " the deſtruction of the laws and properties of " mankind, therefore I ſhall ſpeak a few words " unto that. And, if indeed we were ſuch, we " were fit to be turned out of the world; as " ſome now think they ſhould do good ſervice " in ſending ſuch poor creatures quickly from " hence. There is no ſuch thing; I deſire to " bear witneſs to the true magiſtracy, that ma- " giſtracy that is in the word of the Lord. And " that true miniſtry, which miniſtry is a miniſtry " from the anointing; that doth bear witneſs to " the Lord Jeſus, and hath his holy ſpirit. That " teſtimony I deſire to bear; and that teſtimony " I deſire to ſtand faithful in, with integrity to " the Lord Jeſus, as king of ſaints and king of " nations. And therefore it is, I ſay, to have a " magiſtracy as at the firſt, and counſellors as at " the beginning, men fearing God, and hating

" covetouſneſs. And that miniſtry as doth preach
" the everlaſting goſpel."

His prayer was equally extravagant; he appears by it to think himſelf a perſon of great conſequence in the eye of his Creator; for he ſays, " O bleſſed Father, it is not that I do expect any " thing from thee upon any account, below the " account of the Lord Jeſus; and wherein *thou " haſt been glorified by thy poor ſervant*, it hath " been by thine own power, and thine own " working."

When the executioner had done his office, the king, in reſpect for his elder brother's memory, and for the ſake of his ſurviving friends, gave his quarters to be buried. It was greatly to be lamented, that a gentleman of family, of fortune, and whoſe education was liberal, having been ſent to one of the univerſities, and afterwards ſtudied the law at the inns of court, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far deluded by a lying ſpirit, as to be not able to diſtinguiſh between good and evil; not to know that an unlawful aſſembly could not make legal what they appointed; not to know that deſtroying the ſovereign was treaſon.

Mr. Ludlow ſays, that he was elected into the council of ſtate, and employed in many important affairs, in which he ſhewed great ability; but it is difficult to give credit to this; I can better believe that, ſaint as he was, and waiting for Chriſt to be king upon earth, he was very anxious to make a ſplendid appearance to his heavenly maſter; for, though a younger brother, he

had at his impriſonment "a plentiful eſtate." By the book intituled "Regicides no Saints," it is evident that theſe ſelf-ſanctified men were by no means neglectful of earthly things.

The people were beyond meaſure exaſperated againſt him, except ſome of his enthuſiaſtic diſciples; for it appears he was a preacher to the brethren in the weſt; this was evident by the conſtant uſage he received from the time of his ſeizure in Cornwall; for in moſt towns that he paſſed through, the generality of the people reviled him with ſuch words as theſe; "hang him, "rogue; piſtol him," ſaid others; "hang him "up," ſaid ſome at Saliſbury, "at the next ſign "poſt, without any farther trouble;" and when he bore all this with calm compoſure, with a face unchanged, they ſaid, "they ſuppoſed he would "alter his countenance and tremble when he "came to the ladder." As this is the account which his friends give, it proves how much King Charles I.'s death was lamented by the people, and how wonderfully far gone in fanaticiſm he muſt have been; indeed it had been eaſy for him to have eſcaped to the continent; but no, ſaid he, to ſuch who propoſed it to him, "I have committed both "my life and eſtate to the Lord, to ſave or de-"ſtroy as he thinks meet; I therefore will not "by any means go out of the way."

In times of peace and domeſtic harmony ſuch a character would have been judged religiouſly mad, and ſhut up in a place proper for the reception of ſuch unhappy creatures, and with due

care he might have been reſtored to reaſon; if not, he would have been prevented outraging the deareſt rights of ſociety.

If he left deſcendants, they have, like his other relatives, been aſhamed of owning him, or at leaſt had the modeſty not to glory in his crimes.

The diſlike expreſſed againſt this regicide was extremely great by the parliament, who, when the act of indemnity paſſed, excluded him and Colonel Scroop from every benefit of it; this was probably to prevent any inſurrection being raiſed by the mad enthuſiaſtical fifth monarchy men, who by delays might have gathered, to reſcue ſuch ſuper-eminent ſaints from becoming martyrs.

The Life of WILLIAM CAWLEY, *Esq.*

WILLIAM CAWLEY, Esq. was originally a brewer in Chicheſter, in the county of Suſſex; he was a member of the long parliament and when the war broke out, he obtained a commiſſion in the army.

He was named a commiſſioner in the pretended high court of juſtice, which he attended as one of the judges on the 17th, and every ſubſequent day, both in their ſittings in the Painted Chamber, and in Weſtminſter Hall, and he ſigned the warrant to put the king to death.

When a commonwealth was erected he was much truſted; in 1650-1 he was appointed one of the council of ſtate; yet he acquieſced in Oliver's taking upon him the ſovereign power, who made him one of his committee for the county of Suſſex.

He was one of the very few of the king's judges who were able to obtain a ſeat in the convention parliament; but perceiving how much the popular tide was turned againſt him, he concealed himſelf; and the parliament ſoon convinced him he had acted prudently, for he was abſolutely excepted from pardon both as to life and eſtate.

Leaving the kingdom, he paſſed through France, and ſtrove to procure an aſſylum at Geneva, but finding it impoſſible, he removed to Lauſanne in Switzerland, where the lords of Berne granted him their protection; but he was ſtill in ſome

meaſure at the mercy of the royal family, who had devoted him to deſtruction.

His ſituation in baniſhment muſt have been extremely painful; the fear of detection, the loſs of all ſociety with thoſe he loved, and compelled to reſide in a foreign land upon a ſcanty income, with the knowledge that he had called all this upon himſelf, and, we muſt hope, ſincere ſorrow for the dreadful crime which brought all this upon him. He, and ſome others implicated with him, lived as if they wiſhed to be forgotten, even whilſt upon earth, and were ſpectators, as it were, of being cut off from the land of the living. A more melancholy ſituation cannot be conceived by the mind of man. It is obſervable that he alone gave a negative to Colonel Monk's, then a priſoner in the Tower, having a commiſſion in the parliament army given to him. Mr. Ludlow calls him "an able "and ancient member of parliament." He had a family; William, his eldeſt ſon, was of the committee for the county of Suſſex.

The Life of THOMAS CHALLONER, *Eſq.*

THOMAS CHALLONER, Eſq. was a younger ſon of Sir Thomas Challoner, Knt. tutor to Henry Prince of Wales, by Elizabeth daughter of Sir William Fleetwood, Knt. and was born near Staple-Claydon in Buckinghamſhire. At the age of ſixteen he was ſent to Exeter College, in Oxford, which was in the early part of the year 1611; before he took any degree he left college, and travelled into France, Italy, and Germany; upon his return to England he went and reſided at Giſborough in the county of York, where the family eſtate lay. About 1643 he procured a ſeat in the long parliament for a borough in Yorkſhire, and being a perſon of great acquirements, and of an active diſpoſition, the parliament gave him a commiſſion in 1647, with Colonel John Temple, to govern the province of Munſter in Ireland. It was very unfortunate for him that he was not detained longer there; for coming over to England, he was named a commiſſioner of the high court of juſtice, and having a decided preference for a republican government, and great prejudices againſt his majeſty, he ſat in the court, and was peculiarly buſy in carrying on the ſad cataſtrophe, being one of the committee appointed to manage the buſineſs; his name is alſo to the public meetings upon the 8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 19th 20th, 22d, and 25th days of January in the Painted Chamber; and in Weſtminſter

Hall the 20th, 22d, and 23d; but he did not attend the laſt day when ſentence was given, though he ſigned the death warrant.

Upon the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth he obtained very conſiderable conſequence, being appointed of the council of ſtate in 1649-50, and in the following year, and was one of the maſters of the mint. He neither approved of, nor I believe, was truſted, by the elder protector; but in 1659 he was again of the council of ſtate. He ſurrendered himſelf in obedience to the parliament's proclamation, yet like the others he was excepted both as to life and eſtate, though the great and good Earl of Southampton objected to it, as a forfeiture of the public faith; but he was over-ruled by Sir Heneage Finch, his majeſty's ſolicitor-general; however Mr. Challoner ſoon after found means to eſcape out of the kingdom, and retired to Middleburg in Zealand where he died in 1661.

Few of the regicides were more culpable than this gentleman, whoſe family had been foſtered in the royal boſom; they had been beloved, truſted, honoured. King James I. had confided the heir apparent of the crown to the care of his father, and had created another of his relatives a baronet, and his great mental accompliſhments ought to have ſhewn him the danger of deſtroying, what it was impoſſible to build up again: ſuch a wild fanatic as Carew was, might have been ſuppoſed to have ſwept away all that oppoſed his viſionary ſyſtem, but Challoner had no ſuch chimæras to combat with.

The Life of JAMES CHALLONER, *Eſq.*

JAMES CHALLONER, Eſq. was a brother of Mr. Thomas Challoner, whom I have juſt mentioned. He unfortunately embarked in the ſame ungrateful, as well as traitorous buſineſs; he ſat in the Painted Chamber, as one of the king's judges, on January the 8th, 10th, and 20th, and in Weſtminſter Hall the 20th, and 21ſt days of the ſame month.

He was a moſt determined republican, but, like General Fairfax, he had a great love for the fine arts, and the works of antiquity; ſentiments very oppoſite to moſt of thoſe of levelling principles, none of whom were agreed indeed how far they ought to go. Some were for lopping off a few of the exuberant branches, as they ſuppoſed they were; others were for deſtroying the venerable trunk; whilſt the moſt violent were for taking away both root and branches, that there never might be a poſſibility of its putting out again.

After the decapitation of the great and wiſe Earl of Derby, who fell a victim to duty, the Iſle of Man was taken from the Stanley family, and given by the parliament to General Fairfax, who ſent Mr. Challoner over as his agent or governor, where he employed his leiſure in procuring materials for a hiſtory of that little kingdom, as it was then, and until lately ſo remained.

He was recalled from Man, and again mixed in all the buſy ſcene which was acted preceding the

reſtoration; and, having declared for the intereſt of the parliament in oppoſition to that of the army, he was ſent to priſon by General Fleetwood.

He had but juſt eſcaped from this misfortune, before another of even a worſe nature overtook him; for though his life was ſpared, the parliament confiſcated his eſtate, leaving him a prey to poverty and wretchedneſs. He ſunk under ſo great a calamity. We muſt lament the fate of a man of ſcience, who was equally an object of compaſſion and abhorrence. His ingratitude muſt ſtamp his character with peculiar baſeneſs, and he lived to feel the ſtigma.

The Life of GREGORY CLEMENT, *Esq.*

GREGORY CLEMENT, Esq. was a citizen and merchant of London, who, by trading to Spain, had raised a very considerable estate, though the royalists say he had failed; but I suppose Mr. Ludlow is right in the first statement. He came into the long parliament about 1646, says Mr. Ludlow, and discharged that trust with great diligence, always joining with those who were most affectionate to the commonwealth, though he was never possessed of any place of profit under them *.

The army and parliament juntos put him upon the commission to try the king; and he, who was entirely a republican, said, upon that occasion, "he durst not refuse his assistance." He attended the high court of justice all the days in Westminster Hall; and in the Painted Chamber January the 8th, 22d, 23d, and 29th; and set his hand and seal to the warrant to put the king to death.

He had, by purchasing the estates of the bishops, acquired a very considerable fortune in land. It

* The Mystery of the Good Old Cause says, he had scarce been two months in the house of commons, before he protested he had not more than cleared the purchase-money, which was but sixty pounds; but said, as a comfort for himself, that he hoped times would mend. This tale is deserving of little credit; we cannot suppose, that a seat in parliament, at a time when it was most valuable, would be so easily procured; nor he so weak to mention what would have been so little to his credit to have been known.

is very evident he was more avaricious than ambitious; he forgot, however, that the ſtricteſt hypocriſy was proper, whilſt a multitude of ſelf-elected ſaints on all ſides ſurrounded him; for not managing his intrigues with ſecrecy, he was proved to have been frail with his female ſervant at Greenwich, which was ſuch a falling from grace, that he was deprived of his ſeat in parliament, and not reſtored until after Oliver's death, when the ſin was no more remembered. Should ſuch an inquiſition now take place, how greatly would it thin both houſes!

The method of taking Mr. Clement was very remarkable, as mentioned by Mr. Ludlow, in whoſe words I ſhall give it: "Mr. Gregory Clement, one of the king's judges, had concealed "himſelf at a mean houſe near Gray's Inn; but "ſome perſons having obſerved that better proviſions were carried to that place than had been "uſual, procured an officer to ſearch the houſe, "where he found Mr. Clement, and preſuming "him to be one of the king's judges, though "they knew him not perſonally, carried him before the commiſſioners of the militia of that "precinct. One of theſe commiſſioners, to whom "he was not unknown, after a ſlight examination, had prevailed with the reſt to diſmiſs "him; but as he was about to withdraw, it happened that a blind man, who had crowded into "the room, and was acquainted with the voice of "Mr. Clement, which was very remarkable, deſired he might be called in again, and demand-

" ed, if he was not Mr. Gregory Clement? The " commiſſioners not knowing how to refuſe his " requeſt, permitted the queſtion to be aſked; " and he not denying himſelf to be the man, was " by that means diſcovered."

He was ſeized upon May 26, 1660, and ſent to the Tower, at which time an order came to ſecure the property of all thoſe who had ſat in judgment upon the late king. At the return of Charles II. he was abſolutely excepted from pardon, both as to life and eſtate; and he was brought to his trial October the 12th, ſucceding his commitment, with Colonel Jones, another of the regicides; at which time, though he had pleaded not guilty, yet ſoon after he preſented a petition in court, upon his arraignment; the Lord Chief Baron addreſſing him, ſaid, " If you do confeſs your offence, your peti- " tion will be read;" to whom he replied, " I " do, my lord." His lordſhip then told him, " Mr. Clement, if you do confeſs (that you may " underſtand it), you muſt, when you are called, " and when the jury are to be charged; you muſt " ſay (if you will have it go by way of confeſſion) " that you wave your former plea, and confeſs the " fact." The clerk of the crown then ſaid, " Gre- " gory Clement, you have been indicted of high " treaſon, for compaſſing and imagining the death " of his late majeſty, and you have pleaded not " guilty; are you content to wave that plea, and " confeſs it? He ſaid, " I do confeſs myſelf " guilty, my lord." And, when aſked what he had to ſay, why ſentence ſhould not be pro-

nounced? he only replied, "I pray mercy from "the king."

Such a conduct would extremely intereſt one in behalf of a criminal; and we ſhould wiſh to have ſuch a perſon ſaved, had he been real in his ſorrow for the crime; but his ſubſequent conduct ſhews he was undeſerving of it: for, when he found he muſt die, he ſaid, that nothing troubled him ſo much as his pleading guilty at the time of his trial, to ſatisfy the importunity of his relations, by which he had rendered himſelf unworthy to die in ſo glorious a cauſe. He was put to death at Charing Croſs, October the 16th, going in the ſame ſledge as Mr. Scot; and Colonels Scroop and Jones in a ſecond. He ſaid nothing at the place of execution; "for though," remarks Mr. Ludlow, "his apprehenſion and judgment were not "to be deſpiſed, yet he had no good elocu-"tion."

Mr. Clement was certainly a perſon of no abilities; his ſituation in the Houſe of Commons ſerved him to lay out his money to greater advantage, which ſeems all his aim; and he was probably led by ſome ſuch conſiderations to act in that cauſe which led to his ignominious end, though it is evident he hated the kingly office. It is probable he was a cadet of a knightly family, in Kent. I ſuppoſe Major William Clement, in the London Militia, was his ſon.

The Life of Sir WILLIAM CONSTABLE, *Bart.*

SIR WILLIAM CONSTABLE, Bart. was deſcended of as ancient, knightly, rich, and loyal a family as moſt in Yorkſhire, though that county boaſts ſo many. He was eldeſt ſon and heir of Sir Robert Conſtable of Flamborough, by Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Widdrington, Knt. relict of Sir Roger Fenwick, Knt.

Sir William ſucceeded his father in his eſtate of Flamborough; and when a young man, he ſerved under the Earl of Eſſex, in Ireland, going thither in 1599; and, diſtinguiſhing himſelf againſt the Iriſh rebels, that nobleman conferred the honour of knighthood upon him.

When the Earl of Eſſex returned into England, and was led away by his furious ungovernable paſſions to conſpire the dethronement of his royal miſtreſs, he joined in his treaſon, and was arraigned for the crime, in 1601, which muſt have occaſioned him an ignominious death, if it had not been for the mercy her majeſty ſhewed him, by ſending a ſpecial letter, commanding him and others to be remitted the diſgrace of trial, graciouſly urging, that he was drawn in by Eſſex; and, March 20, following, the queen's warrant was ſent to Sir John Popham, Knt. lord chief juſtice, to admit him to bail.

As King James looked upon Eſſex as his martyr, as he was pleaſed to call him, he regarded

with great affection all who had ſuffered for him; this occaſioned his majeſty to look upon Sir William with eſpecial favour, and, June 9, 1611, he raiſed him to the rank of a baronet. In the parliament called in the twenty-firſt of this reign, he was returned one of the repreſentatives for the borough of Knareſborough.

In the reign of King Charles I. he had very conſiderable intereſt in Yorkſhire, owing at firſt to his profuſe extravagance and high living, and afterwards for his ſetting up as the leader of thoſe who oppoſed the blameable conduct of the court; he was therefore returned to ſerve for the county of York, in the firſt year of this reign, and for Knareſborough in all the ſucceeding parliaments, except the long parliament, when he ſat for Kellington in Cornwall. As he ſet himſelf in oppoſition to the government, it drew him into many inconveniencies; he was impriſoned about ſhip-money, which he judged illegal; and the expences he had put himſelf to, obliged him to diſpoſe of his eſtates for twenty-five thouſand pounds, to Sir Marmaduke, afterwards Lord Langdale.

The opening of the long parliament diſplayed him a diſappointed, enraged, ruined patriot, ready to execute whatever could gratify his anger, pride, or avarice. When the Earl of Eſſex (the ſon of that nobleman for whom he had ſo nearly loſt his life) drew his ſword againſt the king, he accepted a commiſſion from the parliament, to fight under his banners, and ſoon roſe to the rank of colonel,

in which ſituation he performed eſſential ſervice to his employers.

He was ſent with Colonel Brown in 1642, with his regiment, to oppoſe the king's marching to London, the parliament being conſcious that whoever got that city, would become in the end triumphant. In the following year, he routed three regiments of the Marquis of Newcaſtle's horſe, took three hundred of them, with many officers, obtained Stamford Bridge in Lincolnſhire, and ſeized there three pieces of ordnance, with powder, ſhot, and arms, ſufficient to furniſh ſeveral troops of horſe, beſides proviſions; and in 1644, he went and laid ſiege to Scarborough Caſtle, in his own county, being ſent thither by General Fairfax.

In the year 1646, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners to preſerve the peace between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and obtained an order from parliament to pay him the ſum of one thouſand nine hundred pounds, in full of the arrears due to him as one of the officers in their army. In the beginning of 1647-8, he was ſent, with Lieutenant-colonels Goffe and Salmon, to guard the Iſle of Wight; and as the captive king was impriſoned there, a commiſſion was ſent to him and Colonel Hammond to place and diſplace ſuch attendants about his majeſty as they judged moſt proper for the ſecurity of his perſon. Soon after his regiment marched into Glouceſter, but part of which, in June, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Read, aſſiſted in ſtorming the ſub-

urbs of Tenby in Pembrokeſhire, in which they were ſucceſsful; and about a week afterwards, the town and caſtle alſo ſurrendered to the mercy of the parliament.

He was nominated one of the high court of juſtice for trying the king, and it ſeemed a moſt grateful employment to him; he was one to whom the care of making all neceſſary preparations was given. He ſat as a commiſſioner or judge in the Painted Chamber, on the 13th, 15th, 17th, 18th, 20th, 22d, 23d, 24th, 26th, 27th, and 29th, and every day that the court ſat in Weſtminſter Hall, and he ſigned the warrant for execution.

The ſervices he had rendered both the parliament and army demanded a grateful return; he was put in the council of ſtate in 1649 and 1650, was gratified with a conſiderable command in the north, and appointed governor of Glouceſter, in which city he died full of years, and loaded with infamy.

His wickedneſs in procuring the ſequeſtration of the eſtates he had ſold for ſo large a ſum, from the loyal Sir Marmaduke Langdale, that it might be given back again to himſelf, ſhews as unprincipled a mind in private life, as his ingratitude to the crown, which, when young, had with peculiar delicacy given him his life, and ſince then granted him hereditary honours; but this, and his ill-gained poſſeſſions, were alike forfeited at the reſtoration, when he was excepted out of the general pardon as if living.

Sir Philip Conſtable, deſcended from a junior branch of this family, ſeated at Everingham, was created a baronet by King Charles I., to whom he proved as loyal as Sir William was traitorous; but this title is become extinct from want of male heirs.

The Life of MILES CORBET*, *Eſq.*

MILES CORBET, Eſq. was a gentleman of an ancient family in Norfolk, who had applied himſelf with great ſeduloufneſs to the ſtudy of the law in Lincoln's Inn, and what was a rare circumſtance, had been choſen in all the parliaments for thirty-ſeven years; he was burgeſs of, and recorder for, Great Yarmouth in the long parliament; and having great prejudices both againſt the court and the hierarchy, he took the moſt decided part againſt his majeſty.

He early became a committee-man for the county of Norfolk; at the commencement of the civil war, he had but a ſmall fortune, but he ſoon improved it, not as many gentlemen of the law did by drawing the ſword, but by obtaining lucrative places in his original profeſſion. The parliament in 1644 made him clerk of the court of wards.

* The Corbets are originally of the county of Salop, and were ancient barons; there have been ſome of them ennobled and the title of baronet has been conferred upon ſeveral of the branches; there is no family of higher antiquity, nor greater gentility than this. There was one of them ſeated in the county of Norfolk; of this line was Sir Miles Corbet, Knt. in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, who had a brother, John Corbet, Eſq. he married Mary daughter of Sir Roger Wodehouſe, Knt. who ſurviving him, re-married to George Kemp of Tottenham in Middleſex, Eſq. he was ſeated at Shrowſton in Norfolk, as was Sir Thomas Corbet, knighted by King Charles I. at Royſton, October 11, 1634.

In March 1647-8, he, with Mr. Robert Goodwin were made regiſtrars of the court of Chancery, in the room of Colonel Long, one of the eleven impeached members; this place was worth ſeven hundred pounds a year to him.

He was put in the commiſſion to ſit at King Charles I.'s trial. Mr. Ludlow ſays that though one of the high court of juſtice, yet "he appeared not amongſt the judges by reaſon of "ſome ſcruples he had entertained, till the day "that ſentence was pronounced; but upon more "mature deliberation, finding them of no weight, "he durſt no longer abſent himſelf; coming early "on that day into the court, that he might give "a public teſtimony of his ſatisfaction and con-"currence with their proceedings;" this gentleman's memory here betrays him, for Mr. Corbet ſeems to have had no ſuch ſcruples; and inſtead of only appearing the laſt, he was in the Painted Chamber the firſt day, January the 8th; and alſo the 15th; 23d, and 26th; and ſat as a judge both upon the 23d and the 27th in Weſtminſter Hall when ſentence was given, and he ſigned the warrant to put his majeſty to death.

He had the principal management of the office of ſequeſtration to pillage the loyaliſts, to enable the parliamentarians to carry on the war againſt the king; ſpeaking of which, Lord Hollis ſays, "the committee of examinations where "Mr. Miles Corbet kept his juſtice ſeat, which "was worth ſomething to his clerk, if not to "him. What a continual horſe fair it was! even

"like dooms-day itſelf, to judge perſons of all "ſorts and ſexes." This made him ſo very odious in this kingdom that he was glad to change the ſcene.

The parliament therefore in Auguſt 1652 put him in the commiſſion for managing the affairs of Ireland with the Lord-general Cromwell, Lieutenant-generals Fleetwood and Ludlow, Colonel Jones, and Mr. Weaver. In this ſituation he remained during all the changes of government until January 1659-60 when he was ſuſpended by Sir Charles Coote, and then impeached of high treaſon, after having received no leſs than ten ſeveral commiſſions for this office. He ſoon after returned into England, but was ſo alarmed by the proceedings againſt Sir Henry Vane and Major Salway, and from having ſo great a charge preferred againſt him, that he would not appear publicly, much leſs go to the houſe, until, inſpired with ſome confidence by Ludlow, he went thither to give an account of his conduct; in which it is moſt probable he acted with great merit; for Ludlow who was part of the time upon the ſpot, and ſome while employed with him, avers that "he manifeſted ſuch integrity, that "though he was continued for many years in that "ſtation, yet he impaired his own eſtate for the "public ſervice, whilſt he was the greateſt huſ-"band of the treaſure of the commonwealth." Perhaps this injury done to his private fortune did not include what he received in debenture lands, or ſome other of the many ways the long

parliament, as well as Cromwell, contrived to reward ſuch who ſerved them; for his original fortune was but ſmall, and he it is known had acquired very conſiderable property.

At the reſtoration he made his eſcape to the continent, and after travelling through many parts of Germany, ſettled with Berkſtead and Okey, two other of the regicides, in Hanau in the circle of the Lower Rhine, and where they were admitted burgeſſes of the city; a ſufficient proof that they had taken much property with them.

Not content to remain in a place of perfect ſafety, he moſt imprudently left it with his companions to come to Delft in Holland, where he was ſecured by Sir George Downing the Engliſh reſident, their former friend; and who had remained in that ſituation under Cromwell and the commonwealth; but had made his peace with the king, for having, it is ſuppoſed, in as ſecret as wonderful manner, preſerved his majeſty's perſon whilſt in exile; be this as it might, he now, to ſhew he acted with a ſteady fidelity to his ſovereign, procured leave to ſecure them; and ſent them over in the Black-a-more frigate, and as they had all been excepted both as to life and eſtate in the act of indemnity; they were brought up to the King's Bench bar April 16, 1662, and ſentenced to die as traitors, for they could not plead having ſubmitted to the proclamation, as they, inſtead of ſurrendering themſelves, had fled.

The day previous to his death he aſſured his friends "that he was ſo thoroughly convinced of

" the juſtice, and neceſſity of that action for " which he was to die, that if the things had " been yet intire, and to do, he could not refuſe to " act as he had done, without affronting his rea- " ſon, and oppoſing himſelf to the dictates of " his conſcience;" adding, " that the immo- " ralities, lewdneſs, and corruptions of all ſorts " which had been introduced and encouraged " ſince the late revolution, were no inconſiderable " juſtification of thoſe proceedings." The licentious court of Charles II. was a great contraſt to the ſolemn hypocriſy of the republicans; it ſeemed general throughout England, from the exceſs of joy that pervaded all orders of men, to have the re-eſtabliſhment of the religion and government of their anceſtors, with the exception of a very inconſiderable part of the nation. The conduct of King Charles II. had certainly nothing to do with that of his father, whoſe moral behaviour was as irreproachable as any of his moſt virtuous enemies, and that without either ſpiritual pride or baſe hypocriſy; perhaps Charles II. as he determined to indulge in licenciouſneſs, did it openly from the diſguſt he entertained for that ſanctified wickedneſs which ſo ſhockingly diſgraced the republicans.

Mr. Corbet was executed at Tyburn, being drawn thither upon a ſledge from the Tower; his quarters were placed over the city gates and his head upon London Bridge. It is a melancholy idea to ſee a character that might have been a great ornament to ſociety thus flying in the face of the

laws of God and man, and having ſuch an infatuation, as to juſtify his conduct when going to be launched into eternity.

I ſuppoſe Major Miles Corbet, a member of the long parliament, who in 1648 was aſſaulted and wounded by ſome cavaliers in a boat upon the Thames, for which there was an order iſſued to apprehend the offenders, was a ſon of his. The heir-general of the regicide married the late Reverend Thomas Whiſton of Ramſey in Huntingdonſhire, nephew of the well-known clergyman Wiſton, who, made ſo much noiſe at the beginning of this century.

The Life of JOHN CORBET, *Esq.*

JOHN CORBET, Esq. was, I presume, a relation, probably a near one, to the last person whose life I have given.

Very little is known of him. He was named one of the king's judges; but he only sat on the first day in the Painted Chamber; not from any tenderness of conscience, for he sent a message to the commissioners, at their sitting in that place, on January the 22d, by colonel Harvey, one of them, who delivered it in these words: "that he "was desired to signify unto the court in the be-"half of Mr. John Corbet, member of this "court, that his absence is not from any disaf-"fection to the proceedings of this court, but in "regard of other special employment that he "hath in the service of the state."

Mr. secretary Thurloe, in a letter addressed to Henry Cromwell, then major-general of the army in Ireland, dated February 19, 1655-6, says, "There is some discourse here of sendinge over "to you Mr. John Corbet, the lawyer, for a "judge, and it is also thought he would doe well "in the councell. It is certayne, he is an ho-"nest man, and *mediocritor doctus*; but weither "this will be resolved on, or weither he will ac-"cept it, I am not able to say."

I have not discovered whether he did go into

Ireland in that, or any other capacity. But if he ſurvived the reſtoration, the buſineſs which ſo occupied his time as to prevent his going to the high court of juſtice, ſaved him at leaſt from ruin, if not from death.

The Life of OLIVER CROMWELL, *Esq.*

OLIVER CROMWELL, Esq. was descended from a younger branch of a very ancient, rich, and powerful family, originally Welch. At the commencement of the long parliament, of which he was a member, he was greatly dissatisfied with the court and church, and entered into the army to effect what he thought a proper reform in each; but he soon saw the real views of each party, that they both aimed only at aggrandizement; and from seeing things generally, he dived with wonderful celerity into the minds of the individuals who were at the head of all the opposing interests, and, dropping his prejudices, he resolved to bend every transaction to his own peculiar advantage; he once bounded his ambition: the order of the garter, title of earl of Essex, and vicar-general, possessed by his maternal relation, was his aim; had the king offered him these, and acted with sincerity, he would have been restored to his crown, which indeed would have lost some of its finest jewels; but had Charles afterwards still farther gratified his more than wishes with a dukedom, he might have regained even these; and it had been the part of wisdom to have complied; it was little more than what his son gave for the whole.

Cromwell saw the danger of putting the king to death; saw that he lost by it all the fond hopes

of gratifying his ambition with rank, and a permanent fortune; but when he could not ſway the heads of the army, and knowing the king's inſincerity towards him, he complied, and then left nothing undone to effect what otherwiſe he would never have conſented to.

Soon after this, he obtained the command of the army, being ſaluted general, and openly directed, what he before had covertly done, all the movements in the war; and having conquered by his proweſs every oppoſition in the three kingdoms, he reſolved to make himſelf the ſovereign of them, and which his own ſecurity imperiouſly demanded. To lay down his authority, and become a private citizen, was not to be expected; and the parliament was become ſo jealous of him, that they only waited for an opportunity of ruining him, and to call in the ſon of that monarch whom he had ſo largely contributed to ruin, was fraught with many hazards; he therefore, with a reſolution that no danger could vanquiſh, ſpurned from the government that very parliament which had uſurped the ſovereignty, and had employed him in effecting it, and ſeated himſelf in their room, and evinced to an admiring world that he was born for empire, governing theſe nations with a ſucceſs that has never been exceeded, and which wanted only legality to have made it deſervedly praiſed. At home, he was hated, courted, feared by every party; abroad, revered by the Proteſtants, and dreaded by the Roman Catholics; the ſcourge of all his foes.

Though a military character, yet humane, wherever he could be ſo with ſafety to himſelf; though an uſurper, tender of liberty. A perſecutor by his ſituation of epiſcopalians, yet often honouring, and not ſeldom, perhaps, ſecretly relieving the neceſſities produced by their conſtancy and firmneſs. Always obliged to court thoſe moſt whom moſt he deſpiſed, the wild fanatics; theſe he knew were averſe to every form of government but the republican, and even ſome to all but the ſpiritual one of Chriſt, whom they expected ſoon to come down, and perſonally reign over them.

In fine, blot out the deep-engraven words Regicide and Uſurper, Oliver was a character that never more than once has been exceeded by the ancients, nor equalled by the moderns. With theſe great blemiſhes he muſt be always recorded as a wicked man; but not like Roberſpiere; he can never be called a monſter, which that moſt infamous of wretches ever muſt; like the tyger, he ſeemed pleaſed with ſlaughter; was unſatisfied if he could not roll and wallow in blood: carnage to him was paſtime; oceans of human gore would not have ſatisfied the thirſt of this execrable tyrant. He had no other pleaſure than feaſting his eyes upon the dying agonies of youth, beauty, manhood, and venerable age. Of the many who conſpired againſt Cromwell, very few were put to death, and they by the cleareſt evidence, and with all the decorum of the moſt regular government. There is no analogy between

the Engliſh and the French uſurpers; one had not a ſingle requiſite for a great prince, the other was deficient in ſcarce any one to make him a moſt exalted monarch. The one having cut the arteries of France was, by univerſal conſent, maſſacred to ſave expiring nature, in a few months after the commencement of his ſanguinary triumph; the other died, after governing with reputation ſeveral years, September 3, 1660, admired by all.

As few of king Charles the I.'s enemies had Cromwell's excuſe for their conduct towards him, there was no one perſon who more ſincerely deſpiſed them than himſelf; indeed none in general are ſo deſpicable as tools, and they muſt appear more particularly ſo in the eyes of thoſe whoſe dupes they have been.

The Life of Sir JOHN D'ANVERS, *Knt.*

Sir John D'Anvers, Knt. was the third and younger ſon of Sir John D'Anvers, of Dantſey, in the county of Wilts, knt., by Elizabeth, fourth and youngeſt daughter and co-heir of John Lord Latimer, and grand-daughter of Queen Catherine Parr by her firſt huſband. Lady D'Anvers' mother was Lucy, daughter of Henry, Marquis of Worceſter*.

The eldeſt brother of Sir John was Sir Charles D'Anvers, who being deeply implicated in the Earl of Eſſex's treaſon, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was put to death for it.

The ſecond brother was Sir Henry D'Anvers, ſeated at Stowe, in Northamptonſhire, and who was reſtored in blood by a ſpecial act of parliament, in the third year of the reign of king James I. on account of his brother Sir Charles' attainder. He firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallant conduct in the low country wars, whilſt ſerving under prince Maurice of Naſſau. Going from that ſervice, he was in the army of Henry the Great of France, who knighted him for the

* Lady D'Anvers, re-married to Sir Edmund Carey, third ſon of Henry Lord Hunſdon, and died aged 84. 1630; upon the monument ſhe erected for herſelf in Stowe church, is added this ſentence: *Sic familia præclara, præclarior prole, virtute præclariſſima.*

good ſervices he had rendered his majeſty. He was employed in the Iriſh wars, ſerving under the Earl of Eſſex and Charles Lord Montjoy, where he roſe to be lieutenant-general of horſe, and ſerjeant-major of the whole army. King James I. in the firſt year of his reign, created him a peer of the realm, by the title of Baron Dauntesey, and afterwards appointed him lord preſident of Munſter, and governor of the iſland of Guernſey: King Charles I. alſo, at the commencement of his reign, raiſed him to a higher title, by creating him Earl of Danby; and his lordſhip was alſo called to the privy council, and elected knight of the garter. He died unmarried at his ſeat of Cornbury, in Oxfordſhire, January 20, 1643-4. The phyſic garden in Oxford is a monument of his munificence, his repairing and beautifying the church of Stowe of his piety.

The ſiſters were Ann, married to Sir Arthur Porter; Lucy, to Sir Henry Baynton; Eleanor, to Thomas Walmeſley, of Dunkenhalgh, in Lancaſhire, eſq.; Elizabeth, to Sir Thomas Hobby; Catherine, the favourite of her brother the Earl of Danby, to Sir Richard Gargrave, of Noſtel Abbey, in Yorkſhire, knt.; Dorothy, to Sir Peter Oſborne, knt., anceſtor of the baronets of that name; and Mary, who died very young.

Sir John was ſeated at Chelſea, where the family had a freehold eſtate valued at ſixty pounds a year, ſo early as the reign of queen Elizabeth; the manſion was called D'Anver's Houſe, and

was taken down about the year 1696, when D'Anver's ſtreet was built upon its ſcite*.

Never were two brothers more oppoſite in character and ſentiments than Sir John and Lord Danby; though honoured by his majeſty king Charles I. with a place near his royal perſon, as a gentleman of the privy chamber, yet he was ever averſe to his intereſt, which he took every method in his power to injure. When the Scots had broke into the kingdom in 1639, he refuſed the application of the crown to contribute any ſum towards raiſing an army to drive them home again.

He was returned one of the repreſentatives for the univerſity of Oxford in the two laſt parliaments of kingCharles I.; and being thus ſeated in the latter, he commenced the open and decided enemy of his majeſty; and when the war was agreed to be carried on by them, he immediately accepted a commiſſion; but, though he became a colonel, he never diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field.

Such a conduct as this muſt have been extremely diſtaſteful to the king, and no leſs mortifying to the loyal Earl of Danby, whoſe family were under ſuch great obligations to King Charles and the late monarch; this occaſioned him, though he was his heir at law, to leave his property to Lady Gargrave, his ſiſter, in preference to him; this exaſperated him ſtill more, as by his vain ex-

* Sir Henry D'Anvers' name is in the catalogue of adventurers to eſtabliſh a colony at Virginia, printed in 1620.

travagance he had contracted a vaſt debt, which he then could never pay, unleſs by ſome ill ſcheme, the reward of his profligate defection; he therefore continued with the party, though it ſeemed only to lend them a name; for when he was appointed a commiſſioner to treat of peace between the king and the parliament, in 1646, he requeſted the parliament to excuſe him, and Mr. Robert Goodwin was put in his place.

When the army determined to deſtroy the fallen monarch, he was ſelected to be one of their chief inſtruments. They appointed him one of the truſtees relative to the "agreement of the "people," ſettled at a general council of officers, preparatory to the trial of the king, and they put his name as one of the judges; and, to ſhew his pleaſure in the horrid office, he ſat every day the high court of juſtice laſted, except in the Painted Chamber on the 22d and 29th, and he ſigned the warrant to behead the king.

Lord Clarendon makes this obſervation upon his nefarious conduct: "Between being ſeduced, "and a ſeducer, he became ſo far involved in "their councils, that he ſuffered himſelf to be "applied to their worſt offices, taking it to be a "high honour to ſit upon the ſame bench with "Cromwell, who employed and contemned him "at once. Nor did that party of miſcreants "look upon any two men in the kingdom with "that ſcorn and deteſtation as they did upon "D'Anvers and Mildmay."

Superadded to all this, we muſt conſider that

his whole aim now centered in obtaining the eſtate of his late brother, Lord Danby, which he knew could never be done but by the parliament, who were become the ſovereign power, and who had ſo early as April 1646, appointed a committee to conſider of the differences between Lady Gargrave and him, reſpecting the eſtate in queſtion.

As he had given all the little conſequence he poſſeſſed to deſtroy the king, and alter the conſtitution, the parliament named him one of the council of ſtate, which they ſet up as a kind of privy council, and which they inveſted with the executive power. This was the more acceptable to him, becauſe it enabled him the better to purſue his ſcheme of obtaining by fraud the eſtate of his late brother, which he had loſt by his wilful and ungrateful conduct; and May 17, in this year, he procured the parliament to take up the matter. The debate laſted the whole day, when the property, valued at thirty thouſand pounds, was to be decided; and he had ſo many friends in the houſe, and Lady Gargrave ſo few, on account of the political ſentiments of each, that the houſe declared the will to be void, and referred the matter to a committee. On the 14th of the following month, much time was ſpent upon the buſineſs in the houſe, when it was reſolved, upon the queſtion, that "Sir John D'Anvers was deprived of "that eſtate by the will of the earl his brother, "for his affection and adhering to the parlia-

" ment." We find him this year, with the Earl of Saliſbury and Sir Henry Mildmay, deputed to receive the Dutch ambaſſadors.

When Cromwell aſſumed the ſovereign power, they took mutual leave of each other, the one hating, the other deſpiſing his former companion. D'Anvers ſhewed the firſt paſſion of malice, by his holding cabals in the army, in March 1655-6, inciting them to revolt from the protector, who, by his ſpies, diſcovered and defeated it; but, I apprehend, took no other notice of it, than to ſet a watch upon his conduct; and he died neglected, and in contempt with all parties. At the reſtoration, his name was inſerted in the act, excepting him from pardon as if living, by which means all that wealth he had purchaſed by ſo many crimes was loſt to his heir. Had he ſurvived the return of King Charles II. he would undoubtedly have forfeited not only property but life, for no man could have fewer friends; he had neither relation nor connection that would have ſtept forth to ſoften juſtice. Lord Clarendon juſtly calls him " a proud, formal, weak man."

He married Magdalen, daughter of Sir Richard Newport, afterwards Earl of Bradford, and widow of Sir Richard Herbert, and mother by him of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Lady D'Anvers was buried at Chelſea, June 8, 1627; Dr. Donne preached her funeral ſermon. He afterwards married Elizabeth, grand-child and heir of Sir John Dauntey, of Lavington, in Wilts, knt.

By the former lady he had no iſſue; by the latter he had theſe, baptiſed at Chelſea: Elizabeth, May 1, 1629, who became the wife of Robert Viſcount Purbeck, eldeſt ſon and heir to * John Lord Viſ-

* John Villers Viſcount Purbeck was eldeſt brother of the whole blood to the great Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of kings; he was created Baron of Stoke, in the county of Buckingham, and Viſcount Purbeck, in Dorſetſhire, in 1619, by King James I. He died February 18, 1657, and was buried at Charton, near Windſor, having married twice, Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench; and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Slingſby, of Kippax, in Yorkſhire, bart. His ſucceſſor was Robert Lord Viſcount Purbeck, his only ſurviving ſon, mentioned above; who, from having married a daughter of that infamous character, Sir Henry Mildmay, going from one extravagance to another, changed his name to D'Anvers, his own being, he pretended, obnoxious to liberty; and in 1660, he paſſed a fine to the king to enable him to ſurrender his peerage, as equally unworthy to be retained by a patriot. The Villers were as much beloved by the Stuarts, as the Dudleys had been by the Tudors. His mean and baſe ingratitude was every way unpardonable. He left a ſon, who, June 5, 1678, claimed his title of Viſcount Purbeck; the cauſe was ſolemnly argued in the Houſe of Peers, and as no attainder had paſſed, but only his father's ſurrendering his title by levying a fine, it was ſettled on the 18th of that month, that "Foraſmuch as upon the debate "of the petitioner's caſe, who claims the title of Viſcount Pur-"beck, a queſtion in law did ariſe, whether a fine levied to the "king by a peer of the realm, of his title and honour, can bar and "extinguiſh that title? The lords ſpiritual and temporal in par-"liament aſſembled, upon very long debate, and having heard "his majeſty's attorney-general, are unanimouſly of opinion, and "do reſolve and adjudge, that no fine now levied, nor at any "time hereafter to be levied to the king, can bar ſuch title of ho-"nour, or the right of any perſon claiming ſuch title under him "that levied or ſhall levy ſuch fine." The court, however,

count Purbeck; Mary, September 29, 1631, who died an infant; Charles, February 14, 1632-3, who alſo died in his infancy; Henry, December 5, 1633; and John, ſo late as Auguſt 10, 1650.

treated this branch with deſerved neglect. There was one of the deſcendants of Lord Viſcount Purbeck living at the former part of the preſent century, I think, in the army; and on that account our ſovereigns did not give the title of *Buckingham*, as it was ſuppoſed that they were entitled to the limitation of the earldom of that name; there being a remainder granted to the Duke of Buckingham to the heirs of his brother, John Viſcount Purbeck, of the earldom, though not of the dukedom.

The Life of RICHARD DARLEY, *Esq.*

RICHARD DARLEY, Esq. was a member of the long parliament, an officer in their army, and much in their confidence. He, or his brother Henry, was appointed in 1643 one of the commissioners to go into Scotland, to bring in an army to assist them against the king; but, for some reason I have not seen explained, Henry was in the following year imprisoned in Scarborough Castle, and, though also a member of the house, he was secluded until 1649, when in the month of May, in that year, he was re-admitted to sit again in the house, having first satisfied the committee touching his absence. Both the brothers were returned, but not suffered to sit in Oliver's parliament, called in 1656; they were extremely averse to his government, being entirely republicans. The Mystery of the Good Old Cause says, they had five thousand pounds granted to their use, but given in the name of their father. Richard only is named as one of the king's judges; but he had no manner of concern in that wickedness.

The Life of RICHARD DEANE, *Esq.*

RICHARD DEANE, Esq. is said to have been a servant to one Button, a toyman, in Ipswich, and to have himself been the son of a person in the same employment. When the civil war broke out he entered the parliament army as a matross in the train of artillery; and rendering them so much service, particularly at Exeter, he gradually rose to be a captain in the train, and afterwards progressively, though rapidly, to be a colonel.

He was one of those who December 18, 1648, met Sir Thomas Widdringten and Mr. Whitlock at the Rolls, with Lieutenant-general Cromwell, and Lenthal the speaker of the house of commons, under pretence of getting some settlement for the nation, and, as it were, combine both parliament, the army, and the law, in one common interest; but this was only a plausible matter to give time to the army to effect the dreadful purpose they meditated against the sacred person of the king, and it was therefore spun out for some days; though it does not appear that he was called upon again in the matter, which was chiefly left to Cromwell.

That a man who had risen so greatly in the army should be devoted to their interest is not surprizing, for in it his own was concerned; and the heads of the army perceived, that if the king and parliament made up the quarrel between themselves, they would be disbanded; and hav-

ing left their own profeſſions, or like him acquired conſequence and new habits in life, they ſhould be left deſtitute; to ward off, therefore, what of all things they dreaded, they determined to cut off the king, after modifying the parliament to their own mind, and lay the ground work for making them their tools in future. Cromwell confided in Deane to take a very material part in this, which he did, and none was more active in carrying things to the laſt extremity; he therefore was named one of the judges in the high court of juſtice, and he was moſt attentive to go through with the odious office; he attended every ſitting, except in the Painted Chamber on the 12th and 13th of January, and in Weſtminſter Hall the 20th. He alſo ſet his hand to the warrant for the king's execution.

As a reward for this dreadful villany he was, in the month ſucceeding that in which it was acted, appointeſt one of the commiſſioners of the navy, with Popham and Blake; and in April he became an admiral and general at ſea, and went with Admiral Blake in a ſquadron in the Downs, whilſt his regiment of horſe was appointed by lot to go to Ireland, to ſubdue the rebels there; and he and Blake ſoon after ſet ſail for Ireland, and put into Kinſale, to take the ſhips which were there, commanded by Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice: leaving Blake in that port he with a ſquadron lay upon the weſtern road. In February 1649-50 he returned to Portſmouth in the Phœnix, and gave information to the parliament that ſe-

veral veſſels with recruits were caſt away upon the coaſts of Ireland in their paſſage thither.

He was placed in a new ſituation in October 1651, being appointed one of the commiſſioners for Scotland, at which time he had the rank of major-general; and in December following he was ordered to go with the other commiſſioners into that kingdom; his province chiefly was to negotiate with the Marquis of Argyle, whom the parliament were very fearful intended to join with the exiled king in his intended attempt to recover his crown. In March he held a conference with his lordſhip, at which none were admitted but ſome of the marquis's relations and Major Salway, another commiſſioner, when the Scotch peer, who then had vaſt influence, profeſſed nothing but "love and kindneſs;" but in the following month he particularly inſiſted upon the intereſt of the kirk; but all his conduct was duplicity, for he privately urged the Highlanders to take up arms againſt the Engliſh, yet they, as well as himſelf, continued their hypocriſy.

The Dutch war breaking out he was again ſent to ſea in his naval capacity, and joined with Blake and Monk in commanding the navy; meeting with Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, near the North-Foreland, they reſolved to give him battle. Blake was to the northward when he firſt ſaw the Dutch navy off the coaſt of Flanders; the ſtrength of both republics was called out to diſpute, which of the rivals was to command, and

govern at ſea. Tromp had to aſſiſt him Admiral Evertſen, De Wit, and De Ruyter.

Vice-admiral Lawſon, at the head of the blue ſquadron, made the attack, by charging through the Dutch fleet with forty ſhips; the ſquadron of De Ruyter were principally ſufferers in this furious onſet; Van Tromp therefore haſted to his aſſiſtance. Blake and Deane, who were both in the ſame ſhip, perceiving the admiral's movement, attacked him with the main body; the fleet continuing engaged until three in the afternoon, when the Dutch fled, and were purſued by the lighteſt of the Engliſh frigates; but, unfortunately, Deane fell at the firſt fire of the enemy, a cannon ball dividing his body at the onſet. The ſecond day the battle was renewed, and a moſt complete victory gained; but as Deane had no ſhare in it, the particulars do not belong to this work. The battle was fought September 28, 1652.

A public thankſgiving was given for this victory, in gratitude to Providence for the firſt fruits of thoſe naval conqueſts that afterwards were to be ſo greatly illuſtrious. To evince the great eſteem that the protector had for private merit, a public funeral was decreed by him for the remains of the deceaſed admiral and general at ſea. The corpſe was carried in a barge from Greenwich to Weſtminſter, attended with many other barges and boats in mourning equipages; as they ſlowly paſſed along, the proceſſion was ſaluted by the guns from the ſhipping, at the Tower, and ordnance planted for that purpoſe in the way to

Weſtminſter Abbey, where the body was buried, attended with many perſons of the greateſt conſequence in the government, invited by cards ſent from the council; beſides large bodies of the military; and to do his memory ſtill more honour the protector in perſon aſſiſted. At the reſtoration his body, with many others, was taken up and buried in a part of the cemetery of St. Margaret's church, adjoining the Abbey precincts.

When we contemplate the life of this man, we cannot but wonder at his ſingular ſucceſs, and the wiſdom and prudence with which he conducted himſelf in ſo many, and ſuch oppoſite offices, and all ſo widely different to what was his original and mean deſtination; it is one of the many inſtances of great abilities being called forth from obſcurity, that often happens in the time of civil commotions. Happy had it been for him, if he had not blackened his character by that vile act of deſtroying his prince, to whom he owed allegiance. He was a devoted creature firſt to the army, and afterwards to Cromwell, who knew his great capacity, and ever promoted his intereſt, and had he lived would have multiplied upon him ſtill farther honours and promotions.

The wealth that he gained was as great as his ſucceſſes had been extraordinary; amongſt the eſtates he poſſeſſed was the manor of Havering at Bower, in the county of Eſſex, the park of which he demoliſhed, after it had for ſo long a ſpace been appropriated for the chace, by our ſovereigns, and where King Henry VIII. often came; it was in

an eminent degree, likewiſe, the retiring place of our monarchs.

At the reſtoration all his eſtates were ſeized by government, his name being inſerted, though he was dead, in that part of the bill which excepted from pardon thoſe more immediately concerned in the murder of King Charles.

He left a widow and children, who, from the time of the general's death to his funeral, had 100l. per day; and 600l. per annum in land was ſettled upon Mrs. Deane in reward for his public ſervices. In 1654 an act of parliament paſſed relative to an ordinance for allowing debts and incumbrances upon the eſtate, which was ſettled by order of the council of ſtate upon "Mrs. "Mary Deane, relict of General Deane, and her "children." Colonel Salmon was upon the point of marriage with this lady in 1654, and probably ſhe was ſoon after united to him.

The Life of JOHN DISBOROUGH, *Esq.*

JOHN DISBOROUGH, Esq. was originally a very private gentleman, but obtaining a commission in the parliament army, under the patronage of his brother-in-law Cromwell, whose sister he had married, he rose to be a colonel, and went constantly in the army interest; but it is extraordinary that he wholly declined sitting as one of King Charles I.'s judges.

The protector Oliver heaped upon him every trust and every honour, but nothing could make him decline his predilection for the commonwealth; yet he wished that to be directed by an army, in which he should have a principal command: he was one of Oliver's major-generals, an office that made all who were entrusted with it extremely odious.

He greatly contributed to ruin the Cromwell interest, in the person of Richard the protector; yet after he was dethroned he avowed that one of the causes of his disgust to the long parliament was, because they had not made a more ample provision for him. His conduct was as impolitic, as his behaviour was rude and uncourtly.

Having spoken so amply of him and his family in my Cromwell memoirs, I shall only add, that since their publication I perceive that he married a second time; for Mr. Swyft, the secretary to Lockhart, the ambassador to France, writes to his excellency in a letter dated London, April 11,

1658, " I have delivered all the letters which I " received in one packet, two days ſince, accord- " ing to their ſeveral directions; except that to " General Diſbrowe, to whoſe preſent lodging " his ſervants in the Spring Gardens would not " direct me. His lordſhip was married on Mon- " day laſt, and hath ever ſince continued at his " lady's houſe."

Notwithſtanding he was not mentioned in the clauſe of pains and penalties extending either to life or property, yet he was ſo dangerous a character that it was with difficulty he could be preſerved; and during the remainder of a long life he was always watched with peculiar jealouſy.

The Life of JOHN DIXWELL, *Esq.*

JOHN DIXWELL, Esq. is generally, by the royalists, said to have been of a mean family, but they do not say where situated; on the contrary, he appears to have been a cadet of the Dixwells, which, dividing into two branches, became seated in Kent and Warwickshire, and each raised to the baronetage. This gentleman was, there is little doubt, of the former; for Sir Basil Dixwell, of Barham, in that county, though created a baronet by King Charles II., was a great parliamentarian, and a committee-man in Kent; and Mr. Dixwell, the regicide, was a member for the port of Dover, in the long parliament, and also one of the committee for Kent.

He went into the army, and rose to be a colonel of foot; and, siding with that interest in preference to any other, was put in the commission of the high court of justice, and attended there on January the 10th, 13th, 19th, 22d, and all the subsequent days, in the Painted Chamber, and all the days that they sat in Westminster Hall, and signed the fatal warrant of execution.

We may suppose his consequence by the trust reposed in him, for he had the custody of Dover Castle; but adhering to the republicans, and still more to the army, he was little in the confidence of Cromwell when at the helm; but upon the destruction of the protectorial interest, he again be-

came conſiderable, and in 1659 was appointed one of the council of ſtate.

Seeing that every thing tended to the return of the exiled monarch, he prudently withdrew from the kingdom, and, with his fellow-regicides, Barkſtead, Okey, and Wauton, reſided ſome time at Hanau, in Germany, and became a burgeſs there; but the two former falling into the hands of the ſon of that ſovereign whom they had impiouſly doomed to die, and had been offered up as an expiation to his manes, he and Wauton privately embarked to America; here he lived in conſtant fears of being betrayed to government; but amongſt his friends, exulting in the crime that had baniſhed him from his country and family. He finally ſettled at New-Haven, in Connecticut, near Maſſachuſet's Bay, where he died, March 18, 1688, at the advanced age of eighty-two. At the head of his grave is an unhewn ſtone of a coarſe kind, called barr, with I. D., the initials of his names, which is all that reminds poſterity that ſuch a one ever was in the land of the living, and from which he would have been cut off by an act of the greateſt public juſtice, had he been ſeized in his own country, having been excepted both as to life and property in the act of indemnity paſſed at the reſtoration.

The Life of JOHN DOVE, *Esq.*

JOHN DOVE, Esq. was of the county of Wilts, where he was early a committee-man; he served in the parliament army, and rose to be a colonel. He was named one of the king's judges, and sat in the Painted Chamber on the 12th, 13th, 19th, and 26th of January, but never in Westminster Hall, nor did he sign the warrant for execution.

In 1655, he was nominated sheriff of the county of Wilts. He wrote a letter, dated from Sarum, March 29, in that year, addressed to Secretary Thurloe, whom he tells, that he hears there is a commission of oyer and terminer issued out for trial of the *rebels* in the west, and that there was a mistrust of his under-sheriff, but promises that there shall not be one of either jury but what he can depend upon as well affected to his highness and the present government; and recommends Mr. Secretary to proceed capitally against the "chief actors that were commissionated, as they "said, by *Charles Stuart*." The letter is written in a peculiar stile; it begins with "Deere "Sir;" and each break-off also commences with the word "Sir."

He escaped at the restoration by the prudent mercy that was shewn, in proceeding only against such of the judges who sentenced his majesty, or signed the warrant, or he might have stood in need of that mercy which he wished not to be extended

to thoſe who had roſe to reſtore the legitimate government and laws of their country, whilſt he was implicated in having deſtroyed them.

The unfortunate Doctor Bridgeman, Biſhop of Cheſter, who was deprived, with the reſt of his right reverend brethren, when the eſtabliſhed church was deſtroyed, was allied to the Dove family; for his ſecond ſon, the prebendary of the cathedral church of Cheſter, was named Dove Bridgeman; and Richard Bridgeman, his lordſhip's fifth and youngeſt ſon, a merchant in Amſterdam, had a daughter, Elizabeth, married to John Dove, Eſq., ſurveyor of the cuſtoms; but whether the ſon of the king's judge, I do not know.

The Life of JOHN DOWNES, *Esq.*

JOHN DOWNES, Esq. was a Londoner, of mean family*; he was greatly attached to the parliament and army, and put in the commission to sit in judgment upon his royal master; and he attended the sittings in the Painted Chamber on January the 8th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 20th, 22d, 23d, 25th, 26th, and 27th, and upon all the days in Westminster Hall, and signed the warrant to put his majesty to death.

Having thus complied with the wishes of those who had led him forth from the humble walk of life, in which he ought, both by his family, fortune, situation, and still more, his education and abilities, to have been, he was almost totally neglected until the Cromwellian interest was ruined, when the army appointed him as one of the council of state, in 1659, and one of the city militia, as a pretended compliment to the city; but the real motive was, that they might use his name to serve their own purposes.

As he was absolutely excepted for life and estate in the act of indemnity passed previous to the restoration, and probably unable to leave the city, he surrendered himself, and was tried October 16, 1660, at the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey. The king's counsel, as an aggravation of his wick-

* John Downes was an adventurer to Virginia in 1620; his name is without any addition.

edneſs, alledged, that he ſpit in the face of the unhappy monarch, his ſovereign.

Mr. Downes, after apologizing for his having pleaded not guilty, ſpoke in extenuation of his crime, ſaying, "My lord, though there was ſuch "a thing, ſuch an unparalleled thing, I was "thruſt into this number, but never was in con- "ſultation about the thing. God is witneſs I "was not put in till the act was ready to paſs in a "ſecond commitment, by one of the ſame num- "ber; I denied it, yet they ſaid I muſt make "one, I muſt take my ſhare; ſo I came in. Ne- "ver did I know of his majeſty's being brought "to London till he came."

After ſaying that he thought it a happineſs to be tried before ſuch wiſe and prudent perſons as the court conſiſted of, he related ſome circum- ſtances of what paſſed upon the fatal 27th of January, when ſentence was pronounced, and which is not mentioned in Nalſon's trial of his majeſty. It was this: "My lord, he that was cal- "led preſident anſwered, that no notice ſhould "be taken of any thing, but only whether he "would anſwer to his charge. Upon that, my "lord, his majeſty, indeed, with the greateſt earn- "eſtneſs that ever I beheld, and yet in no un- "ſeemly paſſion, told him, they might ſoon re- "pent of ſuch a ſentence; that he did conjure "them to withdraw once again, and conſider of "it, if it were but for half an hour; or, ſaith he, "if that be too much for you, I will withdraw. "My lord, here I can make my appeal to him

" that muſt judge me when you have done with
" me. I had not a murderous nor a traitorous
" thought againſt him; but, Sir, I confeſs ſuch
" deep paſſions did befal me, that truly myſelf I
" was not. I remember the perſons between
" whom I ſat, as it fell out, were one Mr. Cawley
" and Colonel Walton (Wauton); theſe two I ſat
" betwixt; theſe were the very words I ſpake to
" them: Have we hearts of ſtone? Are we men?
" They laboured to appeaſe me; they told me I
" would ruin both myſelf and them; ſaid I, if I
" die for it, I muſt do it. Cromwell ſat juſt the
" ſeat below me; the hearing of me made ſome
" ſtir. Whiſpering, he looked up to me, and
" aſked me if I were myſelf? What I meant to
" do, that I could not be quiet? Sir, ſaid I, no,
" I cannot be quiet; upon that I ſtarted up in
" the very nick. When the preſident com-
" manded the clerk to read the ſentence, I
" ſtepping up, and as loud as I could ſpeak,
" ſpoke to this effect theſe words, or to the
" like purpoſe: My lord, ſaid I, I am not
" ſatisfied to give my conſent to this ſentence;
" but have reaſon to offer to you againſt it, and I
" deſire the court may adjourn to hear me; pre-
" ſently he ſtepped up, and looked at me; nay,
" ſaith he, if any one of the court be unſatisfied,
" the court muſt adjourn. Sir, accordingly they
" did adjourn into the inner court of wards;
" when they came there, I was called upon by
" Cromwell to give an account why I had put
" this trouble and diſturbance upon the court? I
" did ſpeak, Sir, to this effect; it is long ago;

" the very words I think I cannot ſpeak, but to " this effect I did ſpeak: My lord, I ſhould " have been exceeding glad if the court had " been pleaſed to condeſcend to this gracious ex- " preſſion: but it is not too late for me; I deſire " not his death, but his life, and that the nations " may be ſettled in peace. The king is now " pleaſed to offer to them ſuch things as ſhould " be ſatisfactory to us all. So, ſaid I, what " would you have? Your pretence of bringing him " to theſe proceedings was, that after ſuch a long " and bloody war, his majeſty would not conde- " ſcend to ſuch conceſſions as might ſecure the " parliament party; but now you hear him, that " he will give every one of us ſatisfaction; I told " them, ſadly told them, I think I may truly ſay, " more ſadly then than at this time, that if they " ſhould go precipitately on and give judgment " upon him, before they had acquainted the par- " liament with what the king was pleaſed to " offer, we ſhould never be able to anſwer it; " the rather, my lord, and that I did preſs with all " the little underſtanding that I had, if they did " but conſider the laſt concluded order that the " parliament made after the paſſing of the act for " trial, that which was ſo called; I ſay there was " this order that ſhut up all, that upon any emer- " gency that could not at that time be thought " on in the houſe, the court ſhould immediately " acquaint the houſe with it. My lord, I did in- " fer as ſtrongly as I could to them, that if this " was not emergency, I could not tell what was.

" The king denied the juriſdiction of the court,
" and yet with all vehemency deſired to ſpeak
" with his parliament. Were not theſe emer-
" gencies? if not, I knew not what were emer-
" gencies. My lords, beſides this, there was
" another thing I did preſs, that I thought was
" of greater conſequence than this, as to the ſa-
" tisfaction of every man's particular conſcience;
" that admitting, if it might be admitted, that the
" king was liable to his ſubjects, that they might
" call him to an account, and might condemn him.
" I beg your pardon that I take the boldneſs to
" make ſuch admiſſions; but if ſuch a thing
" might be admitted, certainly it did exceedingly
" become thoſe judges that were to give ſuch a
" ſentence, not againſt a common perſon, but
" againſt the greateſt, to be very well ſatisfied in
" matter of fact, to a full evidence before them,
" that ſuch and ſuch things that were ſaid were
" true. I do acknowledge this, that to the beſt
" of my apprehenſion, I wiſh it had been ſo to
" others; there was a great ſhortneſs in this, that
" not one member of the court did hear one
" witneſs *viva voce*. I did preſs, that if the court
" did give judgment againſt the king, without
" a fair examination, I ſaid it was ſuch a thing as
" no judge at any aſſizes would do againſt a com-
" mon perſon. What I had was from Peters,
" and from ſome private whiſpers from one of
" them that is gone, and hath received his ſen-
" tence and doom. Cromwell did anſwer with a
" great deal of ſtorm: he told the preſident, that

" now he ſaw what great reaſon the gentleman " had to put ſuch a trouble and diſturbance upon " them; ſaith he, ſure he doth not know that he " hath to do with the hardeſt hearted man that " lives upon the earth; however, it is not fit that " the court ſhould be hindered from their duty " by one peeviſh man; he ſaid the bottom was " known, that he would ſave his old maſter, and " deſired the court, without any more ado, would " go and do their duty. Another that ſpoke to " me in anſwer was one that hath been before " you, and hath received his ſentence, but is not " dead, and I deſire I may not name his name; " his anſwer was to what I have ſaid, that ſome " men were either ſcepticks or infidels. After " this I did go into the ſpeaker's chamber, and " there I did eaſe my mind and heart with tears, " God only knows. I have an unhappy me- " mory; I have ſlipt many things."

The Lord Chief Baron humanely ſaid, " re- " member yourſelf by papers, if you have any; " no man will hinder you." To which he re- plied " I have no papers; but, my lord, for the " truth of this I have ſaid, there are ſome wit- " neſſes that will make the ſubſtance, the effect " of this appear." When reminded that he ſet is hand to the warrant, and it was ſhewn him, he aid, " my lord, how to reconcile that which " hath been ſaid before, with this that comes " after, I leave it to you; I am totally at a loſs. " When thoſe times were, how impetuouſly the ſoldiers, how not a man that dare either diſ-

" own them, or ſpeak againſt them. I was " threatened with my very life; by the threats of " one that hath received his reward, I was in- " duced to it. Certainly, my lord, it doth argue " that there was not malice pre-dominant; love " and hatred cannot be at the ſame time in one " perſon. Deſign, my lord, what ſhould be " my deſign? a poor, ordinary, mean man. " Surely, my lord, I could not deſign any great " matters or places, I knew myſelf unfit; I " humbly beg you would give me leave to tell " you a little what I got." But here the ſoli- citor-general ſtopped him, telling him, " it would " ſave both his lordſhip's time and ours by " making a public confeſſion and evidence of " ſorrow;" ſaying, " we cannot ſpend ſo long " time to hear theſe long diſcourſes; we will " rather prove it againſt every man ſingly:" which is greatly to be regretted, for much ſecret hiſtory might have been got at, which could never have otherwiſe been known; and which is now by this care of time loſt to poſterity. Mr. Downes then threw himſelf upon his countrymen the jury, and begged the king's mercy, and was again proceeding, when he was interrupted; he then requeſted to have a witneſs or two called, but it was denied, as he had confeſſed the fact; he therefore ſaid, " my lord, I do humbly beg his " majeſty's mercy; I came in upon the procla- " mation."

I have given the whole of what relates to the private hiſtory of King Charles I.'s mock trial,

as it comes from a man of no abilities, but, from his extreme ſimplicity and timidity, brought to act a part in the tragedy.

He was condemned, but his majeſty graciouſly remitted his ſentence, by letting the reprieve granted him continue open; and he died in priſon, but when or where is not known.

The Life of ROBERT DUCKENFIELD, *Esq.*

ROBERT DUCKENFIELD, Esq. was descended from a long line of ancestry seated at Duckenfield, in the county of Chester; he was the son and heir of Robert Duckenfield, Esq., by Frances, daughter of George Preston, of Houlker, in Lancashire, Esq. The parliament, knowing his attachment to their cause, appointed him in 1644 one of their committee for the county of Chester; and he, to promote the popular party, drew his sword in their quarrel, and became a colonel in their army. In 1647 the parliament general sent letters to him and other officers, relative to disbanding supernumeraries. In May, in the following year, he wrote to the parliament, that the gentry of Cheshire had engaged to adhere to the parliament, and to raise three regiments of foot, and one of horse, if there should be occasion, for the defence of the country; this was in consequence of the royalists thinking to renew the war; and there was at that time a universal wish in the nation to have the king restored to his just rights, except in the army, which was manifested by the city, the navy, and the country, in their several petitions; and even the House of Commons voted, that after his majesty had signed the bills for settling the militia, and for the *presbyterian* government, and recalled his declaration against the parliament, that then a treaty should be had with him upon the rest of the propositions, at Hamp-

ton Court; but the preſbyterians, that had in ſo great a degree raiſed the ſtorm, were ſuperceded by men who called themſelves greater puritans than themſelves; and the parliament, who had been the friends and patrons of the preſbyterians, had an imperious army who hated them, only leſs than they did the legal epiſcopal eſtabliſhment, and were equally enemies to their ſovereign and the parliament; they therefore determined to deſtroy the monarch, and make the parliament their inſtrument to legalize their tyranny. Colonel Duckenfield was one of thoſe deputed by the army to be a judge in the high court of juſtice, as it was called, though a perverſion of the term; but he was either not upon the ſpot, or had prudence ſufficient to decline ſo great a danger, for he had no manner of concern whatever in that baſe wickedneſs; the parliament probably ſaved him from the danger by naming him ſheriff of Cheſhire that year; he was certainly much in their confidence, for they had before appointed him governor of Cheſter.

The Protector Oliver courted him to take a part under his adminiſtration, and ſent him a commiſſion for a regiment of horſe to be raiſed in Cheſhire; for which he wrote from Duckenfield, March 23, 1654-5, one of the "ſincereſt" letters that perhaps his highneſs ever received, in which he declines "the proferred honour, becauſe, "though his endeavours in that way had been "very ſucceſsful, yet they had been taken in ill

" part, and that county eſpecially was ſo wonder-
" fully impoveriſhed, that without deſtroying it,
" not many ſoldiers could be raiſed in the way the
" protector intended; and becauſe the extremes
" of the levelling party running ſo furiouſly,
" did, as he humbly conceived, drive his highneſs
" upon direct contrary extremes; and he deſired,
" he ſaid, to imitate Caleb and Joſhua in the wil-
" derneſs, as near as he could, and not ſeek a con-
" troverſey with thoſe who limit God to their
" paſſions, and againſt whom God hath an evi-
" dent controverſy." He then tells Oliver, that
" he firmly believes that the root and tree of
" piety is alive in him, though the leaves thereof,
" through abundance of temptations and flat-
" terers, ſeemed to him to be withered much of
" late; yet he hoped time and experience would
" have a good influence upon his lordſhip. *Deo*
" *Juvente.*"

He then, ſpeaking of his own ſituation, ſaid, he praiſed the Lord for his extraordinary mercy to him that way, that he was not much moved with the actings of men, though of the better ſort, nor did he regard preferment much; yet to do this commonwealth a pleaſure, he was content to leave his private and obſcure condition, with which he was much delighted, for ſome time, to accept of ſome *handſome* military command, if his lordſhip thought well of it; but ſo that the men that were to ſerve under him, when diſbanded, might be requited, and that they might be ſe-

lected in the beſt way from ſuch as were the protector's ſuperficial and diſſembling friends, whom he well knew, and would have little to do with unleſs forced to it. He ſaid, he was not afraid of his life or eſtate; and to improve the talent he had, he ſhould be glad to ſerve his lordſhip in any foreign war, within the continent of Europe rather than within this nation.

He farther informed the protector, that thoſe remote corners of this nation were ſo corrupted of late by the ſubtilties of the jeſuited party, meaning the loyaliſts, as few of them that will be entruſted with armies by the new committees in thoſe parts, would be found faithful to his intereſt, in caſe of neceſſity or danger. He therefore recommended, as an excellent courſe, to raiſe about two thouſand horſe equally out of all the counties on the north ſide of Trent; and he ſhamefully propoſed their maintenance to be ſupported by levies impoſed upon the convicted or ſuſpected malignants, meaning the unfortunate loyaliſts; becauſe, he argues, it would do no injury to the innocent, nor be any inconvenience to the protector; he urges as a reaſon for this, that by doing it, the clamours of moſt men will be done away, who ſay, that his highneſs puniſhed the innocent promiſcuouſly with the nocent. And laſtly, he tells Oliver, that *Charles Stuart* had five hundred friends in the adjacent counties for every one friend to him amongſt them; and he doubts not,

ſays Mr. Duckenfield, to find you work enough whilſt he lives.

From this very curious detail, it is moſt evident, that Oliver was not ſo choſen a veſſel as he had been before his exaltation; and it proves how much the body of the people languiſhed to have the monarchy re-eſtabliſhed. It is clear, that he *modeſtly* wiſhed to command the force he recommended to be raiſed.

Major-general Worſley, in 1655, writes to Secretary Thurloe, that the report they had there, was, that Colonel Duckenfield was named high ſheriff, and he thought fit to ſignify, that he was the only perſon that refuſed to act with the commiſſioners for the county of Cheſter, upon the orders and inſtructions of his highneſs and council. And Major-general Bridge writes to the protector a letter, dated from Middlewyche, in Cheſhire, Auguſt 15, 1656: Colonel Duckenfield being one of the commiſſioners for this county, although he had not acted, he judged it proper to ſend him a ſummons with the reſt; and in return, received a letter, which he thought adviſable to ſend to his highneſs. What the contents were, is not mentioned; but we may reaſonably preſume, that they were much ſuch reaſons as he had ſent to the protector for declining the office; for he was, we may ſuppoſe, ſtill more diſſatisfied, as the protector had not indulged him with a command, that would have been dangerous to have put into his hands.

Upon the ruin of the protector Richard, he left the retirement he pretended ſo much to delight in, and became one of the moſt violent partizans of the army—ſuch was his moderation and ſelf-denial; and he procured the rank of lieutenant-colonel. The parliament, to ſhew their willingneſs to do him juſtice, preſented him with two hundred pounds, as a reward for his ſervices in quelling the riſe of Sir Charles Booth in favour of the exiled king; but ſo far was this from obtaining his predilection for them, that he commanded the force that ſtopped the Speaker Lenthall near the gate of the Palace Yard, as he was going to the houſe, who, having demanded whither he was going, the ſpeaker replied, to perform his duty in the houſe; and turning to the ſoldiers, told them, he was their general, and expected obedience; but diſregarding this, they obliged the coachman to drive him back, and as he paſſed Wallingford-houſe, ſtrove to compel him to drive in at the gate, ſaying to the ſpeaker, "You muſt go to Lieutenant-general Fleet-"wood;" but Lenthall, commanding the coachman to proceed home, and telling the officers, that if the lieutenant-general had any buſineſs with him, he might come to his houſe, they ſuffered him to proceed without further moleſtation to his reſidence.

The nation, at length, tired out with the conſtant oppoſition of intereſts, and eternal cabals, were alike diſguſted with both this parliament

and the army, and it became the general wiſh to call a new parliament; which no ſooner met, than they unanimouſly voted the return of King Charles II. to the throne of his anceſtors, who, upon his acceſſion, determined to diſband the army, which would ſend the lieutenant-colonel to the retirement he ſeemed ſo charmed with; but he had no inclination to go thither, for he engaged in a project, it is ſuppoſed, with ſeveral other military men, to make one attempt to regain their loſt conſequence; the pretence was, the return of the queen-mother, a very deſervedly unpopular character; and it was meant to ſeize the king, and the Tower; to kill the queen, and all the French nation they could find, and to reſtore the parliament, no doubt, again to ſanction theſe enormities. But before things were ripe for acting, they were ſecured and ſent to priſon. This plot perhaps haſtened the breaking up of the army, which was effected upon Tower-hill, February 14, 1660-1.

Thus ended the career of this gentleman, who, if he had poſſeſſed prudence enough to have been quiet after his majeſty's return, he might have gone to his paternal domains, and remained in perfect ſecurity.

He married Martha, daughter of Sir Miles Fleetwood, Knt. receiver of the court of wards, by whom he had ſeven children, four ſons, and three daughters. One of the ſons, I ſuppoſe, was Captain Duckenfield, who ſo gallantly diſ-

tinguiſhed himſelf under the command of Sir Charles Coote, in Ireland, in 1650; probably it was John, the eldeſt, who died without iſſue. The other children were, Robert, William, Charles Ann, Elizabeth, and Mary.

Robert, the ſecond, who ſucceeded to the family eſtate, was raiſed by King Charles II., June 16, 1665, to the rank of a baronet.

The Life of HUMPHRY EDWARDS, *Eſq.*

HUMPHRY EDWARDS, Eſq., was a younger ſon of Thomas Edwards, of Shrewſbury, who died March 19, 1634, aged 79; and was buried in St. Chad's church, in that town, by Ann, daughter of Humphry Baſkerville, Eſq., alderman of London, and relict of Stephen Ducket, Eſq.

He had a ſeat in the long parliament; and having been refuſed a place by his majeſty, who thought him improper for it, he, in reſentment, went all the lengths that the junto in the parliament, who were the tools of the army, deſired; and having been named one of the commiſſioners of the high court of juſtice, he ſat in all their meetings, except in the Painted Chamber on the tenth, twelfth, twenty-ſecond, and twenty-fourth of January, and ſigned the warrant to murder the king.

He is one of the ſeveral inſtances here given, that revenge was the paſſion that actuated ſome of King Charles' judges, to purſue, with unrelenting cruelty, his deſtruction.

We have no farther relation of this gentleman, who does not appear to have had any one ſtriking feature in his character. He, fortunately for himſelf, died before the reſtoration, leaving no iſſue; but his name is inſerted in the exceptive clauſe of the bill of indemnity, ſo that his property would be confiſcated. I apprehend, the names occurring in that manner was partly for fear that ſome of

the regicides might have impoſed upon the world by ſecreting themſelves; that their friends might pretend that they were dead, for the double reaſon of ſaving the ſhame of their families, and ſecuring the wealth they had obtained as the reward of their infamy; but if any did thus impoſe upon parliament, it only ſaved life; for, by the opperation of the act, all their wealth was forfeited to the crown.

Henry Edwards, Eſq., the eldeſt brother, alſo died without iſſue; as did Jonathan, the youngeſt. Thomas, the ſecond brother, was a committee-man to the protector, for the county of Salop; though he had received a patent for a baronetage in 1644 from King Charles I., but which was not allowed during the uſurpation, nor claimed until 1678, when it was exemplified to Sir Francis, his oldeſt ſon.

The Life of ISAAC EWER, *Esq.*

Isaac Ewer, Esq., was of the ennobled family of the Barons Ewer, in Yorkshire; he went into the parliament army, to the interest of which he was devoted to the greatest degree; and he then betrayed that ferocity of character which afterwards, upon all occasions, shewed itself. By a conference he had with Colonel Grosvenor, when they were together at an inn in Windsor, one Everard heard them, with others, declare that "they doubted not but the Scots would come in, "and that the city of London would join with "them; for the preventing of which they found "no way but to disarm the city friend and foe: "that such as were friends to the army should be "armed, and keep the rest in awe; and that they "would make the city advance a million of "money, or else would plunder them; and that "they had been acquainted therewith." Everard told this to the magistracy of London, in consequence of which a common council was held April 24, 1648; but it did not sufficiently alarm them, by convincing the city it was intended to make them "the beast of burden," as they were emphatically called.

In May following he took Chepstow Castle, in Monmouthshire, where was killed Sir Nicholas Kemish, and one hundred and twenty taken prisoners: for which the parliament sent him a letter

of thanks, and gave the meſſenger who brought the news, one of their officers, fifty pounds.

When the army was reſolved to ſeize and ſacrifice the king, to promote their having the abſolute government of the three kingdoms, Cromwell, and the other cabal of officers, fixed upon him to effect the firſt part of their object: the general, therefore, ſent a letter to Colonel Hammond, who had the care of the royal captive, to give up his charge and repair to the army at Windſor. Hammond ſent off an expreſs to the parliament; who, alarmed at the king's, and ſtill more at their own, danger, voted that Colonel Hammond ſhould return to the Iſle of Wight and reſume his former ſituation; and that letters ſhould be ſent to the admiral to ſend ſome ſhips for the ſecurity of the Iſle of Wight, and that they ſhould obey Colonel Hammond.

But the army, who knew that whomſoever could ſeize their unhappy ſovereign would command the kingdom, took too effectual care to ſecure the rich prey; for before all things could be re-eſtabliſhed, Ewers, who was a colonel, had punctually obeyed what he went rejoicingly to perform. The cabal at Windſor paid very little attention to a ſubſequent order directed to the general; for Ewer kept poſſeſſion of his majeſty, who removed him to Hurſt Caſtle, of which they had made him governor. Both parties now came to iſſue; the parliament voted, that the ſeizing upon the perſon of the king, and carrying him priſoner to Hurſt Caſtle, was without the advice

and conſent of the houſe; and that his majeſty's conceſſions to the propoſitions of the parliament upon the treaty were ſufficient grounds for ſettling the peace of the kingdoms: the officers alſo ſent forth their declarations; and backing them by the army, with the general at their head, who marching into London, and having garbled the houſe of commons, eaſily procured the act to try their ſovereign; and with the ſame eaſe might have obtained one to condemn him, without the ſolemn mockery of law and juſtice. The army was ſo grateful to their baſe agent, that they ſoon after voted him two hundred pounds as governor of Hurſt Caſtle, from whence the king was ſoon taken away to be ſacrificed.

Colonel Ewers was appointed one of the judges, and was conſtant in his attendance, omitting being there only on the tenth, twelfth, and eighteeenth, in the Painted Chamber; and he ſigned the death warrant.

As the lot fell upon the regiment he commanded to go to Ireland, he ſailed in April 1649; where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the taking of Drogheda and Fredah, both of which were won by ſtorm; but in the latter he loſt almoſt all his officers. In this kingdom he died poſſeſſed of a large eſtate, procured him there through the patronage of Cromwell, whoſe devoted creature he always had been, and whom he had ſerved in his vileſt offices.

His nephew, Captain Ewer, was, I believe, heir to his property, and whom he had taken with him

to Ireland. Secretary Thurloe gives him an excellent character, both for ſobriety and valour, and recommended him to Henry Cromwell, Major-general of the army in that kingdom, in a letter to him, dated from Whitehall, May 21, 1656: the ſecretary ſays, he takes upon him this boldneſs, the rather becauſe he is *the only perſon of my kindred that I have ever moved for in any caſe.*

The Life of JOHN FAGG, *Esq.*

JOHN FAGG, Esq., was son of John Fagg, of Rye, in Sussex, by Elizabeth, daughter of —— Hudson, of that county. He joined the parliament army, and became a colonel in it. His name is amongst the commissioners of the high court of justice; he appeared in the Painted Chamber on the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth of January, but at no other time; so that he appears rather as one who assisted in preparing for the trial, than acting as a judge; neither did he sign the warrant for execution.

Cromwell made him one of the committee for Sussex, and courted him to support his government, which he appears not to be desirous of doing. Major-general Goffe writes to secretary Thurloe from Lewes, November 7, 1655, that he had not put in Mr. Fagg's name, because he was observed to be gracious with disaffected men; besides he would not stir an hair's breadth without Colonel Morley: and in 1656 he was one of the members in Oliver's parliament, who were precluded from sitting in the house, because not approved by the protector's council.

The commonwealth being restored in 1659, the council of state, July 31, put him in power to command the militia in the county of Sussex, and sent him particular instructions how to act; by which it appears that an implicit reliance was placed in him. He was directed to take every

care to ſecure Chicheſter and Arundel; and he was empowered to pay thoſe who voluntarily joined him in the militia, as if in actual ſervice; and they directed him to hold correſpondence with the forces of the army and militia that were in Kent, Surrey, Hants, and Wilts, as there might be occaſion; and to give frequent intelligence to the council of his proceedings.

At the reſtoration he not only made his peace, but was created by King Charles II. a baronet, December 11, 1660. There was a great conteſt between him and Dr. Thomas Shirley, whoſe anceſtors had poſſeſſed Wiſton, the eſtate which he then held: it was, at length, taken up by the houſe of commons, who committed Dr. Shirley for breach of privilege.

Sir John Fagg married Mary, daughter of Robert Morley, of Glynd, in Suſſex, by whom he had ſixteen children. The preſent Reverend Sir John Fagg, of Miſtole, in Kent, Bart., is his deſcendant.

The Life of THOMAS *Lord* FAIRFAX.

LORD FAIRFAX was the third nobleman of that title. His grandfather was Sir Thomas Fairfax, knighted for his bravery by the Earl of Eſſex, in France, whilſt fighting under the banners of Henry the Great, when oppoſing the holy league, as it was impiouſly called; and who was created many years after, May 4, 1627, Baron Fairfax, of Cameron, in the kingdom of Scotland, by his majeſty King Charles I. being one of the very few Engliſh families who received Scotch honours; his lordſhip died at the advanced age of eighty years. By Helen, daughter of Robert Aſk, Eſq. he had Ferdinando, the ſecond Lord Fairfax, who being in the parliament intereſt, was at the commencement of the civil war appointed their general for the aſſociated county of York, where his ſeat and eſtates lay. Whilſt intrenched at Tadcaſter, in Yorkſhire, he was attacked, in December 1642, by the Earl of Newcaſtle, whom he obliged to retreat with the loſs of part of his forces. His lordſhip routed Lord Byron in January following, who was at the head of a body of Iriſh that had lately landed. The engagement was at Namptwitch, in Cheſhire, and was memorable, not only for the great numbers deſtroyed, but for taking priſoner Colonel Monk, who by a ſucceſſion of extraordinary events, was enabled by this diſaſter to gain the confidence of the enemies

of royalty, and yet, to be the inſtrument to reſtore the crown to its legal owner, after every hope had been loſt of ſuch an event taking place. He was, however, in June 1643, totally routed by the Earl of Newcaſtle at Adderton Moor. In April 1644 he defeated Lord Bellaſyſe, at Selby, in Yorkſhire, whom he took priſoner, with ſix hundred of his forces; but in September in that year, a corps of fifteen hundred horſe of Cheſhire, making an incurſion into the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, beating up the quarters of his Lordſhip, defeated two regiments of his horſe at Ferrybridge, and remained there ſome time, expecting the aſſiſtance of the garriſon of Newark; he therefore ſolicited ſome of the Scotch forces to be ſent to him, who were lying before Newark to ſtop their farther progreſs; but he ſoon relieved himſelf from all inconveniencies on their account, breaking through the king's forces with his horſe and his foot marched quietly to Southampton, where he was joined by the Earl of Mancheſter and Wallis' troops. He commanded in the main battle with the Earl of Leven, at Marſton Moor, fought July 3, 1644, where Prince Rupert was defeated with ſuch great loſs; and after this victory his lordſhip was appointed governor of the city of York, which capitulated in conſequence of it. He was alſo in the commiſſion for preſerving the peace of the Britiſh kingdoms. This nobleman married Mary, daughter of Edmund Earl of Mulgrave, anceſtor of the Sheffields, Dukes of Buckingham.

Sir Thomas, the third Lord Fairfax, the ſubject of this article, was the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of the preceding peer, who inheriting the warlike diſpoſition, and violent prejudice againſt King Charles I. became a moſt ſtrenuous enemy to his majeſty, and whoſe deſtruction was greatly attributed to his implacable diſlike to that monarch, owing, it has been ſaid, from an offence to his pride, which was never forgiven. It is certain Charles I. wanted that eaſy condeſcenſion which was ſo diſtinguiſhing a feature in the character of his ſon and ſucceſſor. It is evident that the Fairfaxes and their alliances roſe a dreadful phalanx againſt the king, from the moment the ſword had left the ſcabbard; and their military ſkill, their valour, and prudence, made all the Fairfaxes conſpicuous characters, but far the moſt ſo was this nobleman.

His ſucceſſes were brilliant to the greateſt degree. I ſhall follow him, to ſhew with what ſeeming eaſe and rapidity he ſubjected all oppoſition to his arms. In January 1642, he obtained the town of Leeds, in Yorkſhire, then under the government of Sir William Savile, and took 500 of the royaliſts priſoners. April the 3d following, he ſuffered a check at Bramham Moor, in the ſame county. June the 29th, he was worſted in an engagement fought at Adderton Moor, where the Earl of Newcaſtle obtained the advantage.

He and his father made an attack upon Colonel Belaſyſe, governor of York, at a place called Selby, and took him priſoner, with many of his

officers, beſides one thouſand ſix hundred of the common men, and gained four pieces of cannon, two thouſand arms, and more than five hundred horſes. For this great and important ſucceſs the parliament in London proclaimed a ſolemn thankſgiving.

Purſuing his victory, he haſted, with Lord Fairfax, his father, to join the Scotch army, and laid ſiege, April 20th, to the city of York, whither the Marquis of Newcaſtle was retreated; but Prince Rupert raiſed the ſiege July 2. His highneſs, who was always too precipitate, not ſatisfied with having done well, muſt follow up his advantage by attacking the parliament army where the Earl of Mancheſter was the head of the Engliſh, and the Earl of Leſley commanded the Scotch; and on the 3d he was defeated at Marſton-moor near Wetherby and York, with the vaſt loſt of ten thouſand of the king's forces ſlain, or made priſoners, with all the artillery, arms, and ammunition; in gaining this ſplendid victory Sir Thomas was greatly inſtrumental; one of its many and great conſequences was York falling into the hands of the parliament upon the 16th of the ſame month.

He had rendered himſelf ſo conſpicuous for his great and tried ſervices to the parliament, that April 3, 1645, when he was only in the 34th year of his age, he was advanced to the rank of general, immediately upon the parliament's having paſſed the ſelf-denying ordinance; but it was remarked that in his commiſſion of generaliſſimo of

all their forces, the preſervation of the king's perſon and name was omitted, he being conſtituted general to the parliament only; and not to the king and parliament, as the preceding commiſſions had run; and a very different method of carrying on the war now commenced, the army by him and Cromwell was new modelled, and the deſtruction of the perſon, as well as the authority of the king, ſeemed aimed at.

The greatneſs and rapidity of his victories cannot be exceeded. The general marched from Windſor April 30, 1645, fought the famous battle of Naſeby in Northamptonſhire, where he defeated his majeſty in perſon, who loſt eight hundred men, four thouſand five hundred priſoners, twelve pieces of cannon and two mortars, eight thouſand ſtand of arms, and one hundred and twelve colours, and all this in the ſpace of two hours; and he obtained his majeſty's cabinet of letters and other things of great value, which the parliament very meanly refuſed to return; and even after reading the letters in the houſe of commons, publiſhed the private correſpondence between their majeſties. He inveſted Oxford on the 22d of May, and Leiceſter June the 18th, which had been taken by ſtorm by the king juſt preceding the battle of Naſeby, and was then left to the care of Lord Haſtings; the loſs was very trifling to the royaliſts, who knew it impoſſible to make any reſiſtance; the general here took fourteen cannon, two thouſand ſix hundred ſtand of arms, and eight colours; on the 27th, in three

hours, he took Highworth garriſon in Wiltſhire, commanded by Major Ken, killed four, took ſeventy priſoners, one hundred and eighty arms, and two colours; July the 3d, he a ſecond time relieved Taunton in Somerſetſhire; after ſpending five weeks in performing this ſervice, with the loſs of one thouſand of the royal forces, and four hundred priſoners, Lord Goring oppoſing him; on the 8th he took the garriſon of Ilcheſter, commanded by Colonel Philips; on the 10th, he defeated Lord Goring at Langport, in a moſt deciſive manner, with the loſs to his lordſhip of ſixty killed, one thouſand ſix hundred taken priſoners, two pieces of ordnance, two thouſand five hundred arms, and thirty-two colours. On the 23d he ſtormed Bridgewater, defended by Colonel Windham, which he won in eleven hours, and killed thirty, took one thouſand ſix hundred priſoners, forty-four pieces of ordnance, three thouſand arms and nine colours.

Leaving Somerſetſhire, he marched to Sherborne in the county of Dorſet, which he ſtormed on the 15th of Auguſt, and though it made a good defence, Sir Lewis Dives killing him two hundred men, yet it was obliged to ſubmit, with the loſs of three hundred and forty priſoners, nineteen pieces of ordnance, ſix hundred arms and two colours.

He inveſted Briſtol the 21ſt of that month, which was well provided for a gallant defence, and the greateſt confidence was placed in Prince Rupert, the governor; but the ſteady valor of

Fairfax prevailed, and with the inconſiderable loſs of about one hundred and ſixty of his men, he took it by ſtorm in eighteen hours; two hundred of the royal troops were taken priſoners, one hundred and fifty-one pieces of ordnance, ſix thouſand arms and eight colours; nothing more raiſed the reputation of the one, or ſunk that of the other, than the conqueſt of this ſecond city in the kingdom; King Charles I. never more would give his royal confidence to his nephew, who could thus eaſily give up a place of ſuch great ſtrength and importance: it has ever been a ſurprize to all Prince Rupert's friends, and he felt ſo much concern for it, and its conſequences, that he ſoon after left the kingdom, but returned again.

The general in perſon aſſaulted the Caſtle of Devizes in the county of Wilts, which was ſurrendered September the 23d, by Sir Charles Lloyd, with only ſeven killed, and five priſoners; but he took in it two pieces of ordnance, and four hundred arms; on October the 20th he took the Caſtle of Tiverton in Devonſhire by ſtorm, defended by Sir Gilbert Talbot, obtaining there two hundred priſoners, four pieces of ordnance, four hundred arms and two colours, with only two of the loyaliſts killed, it is ſaid.

His next advance was to Plymouth, whither he came January 16, 1645-6, and raiſed the ſiege of that very important place, where he was oppoſed by Major-general Sir John Digby; here he took twenty-two priſoners, found five pieces of ord-

nance, which Sir John had left in his haſty retreat, and eighty arms.

January the 19th he ſtormed Dartmouth, and in ſeven hours took it; killed twenty, took eight hundred priſoners, one hundred and ſix cannon, one thouſand ſix hundred arms and fourteen colours; Sir Hugh Pollard being obliged to yield to the conſtant career of ſucceſs that attended the arms of this great man. February 16, he acted the ſame part againſt Torrington, and with the ſame good fortune, though he was oppoſed by Lord Hopton, Lord Wentworth, and Lord Capel, who loſt ſixty men, four hundred priſoners, ſixteen hundred arms, and nine colours; in this tremendous attack and defence, eighty barrels of gunpowder were conſumed.

His attention was next directed againſt the garriſoned places in Cornwall: February the 25th, Launceſton fell, after an hours diſpute, and the loſs of three men killed, one hundred and ſixty priſoners, and two hundred arms. He then marched to Saltaſh on the 28th, where he found three pieces of ordnance left in the works; the next day he obtained the town of Liſard, both of which had been quitted upon his approaching them. Mount-Edgcomb yielded to him on March the 3d, Colonel Edgecomb ſurrendering the place to him, where he obtained five pieces of ordnance; and the ſame day the town of Fowey was yielded to him without any oppoſition, where he made ſixty priſoners, gained ten pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty arms. St.

Mawe's Caſtle, which commanded Falmonth Haven, yielded upon the 13th, where he found twelve cannon, one hundred and ſixty arms and two colours; on the following day he obliged the loyal and gallant Lord Hopton to diſband his army, according to the treaty at Truro, which he had that day ſettled with him, permitting his lordſhip, however, to paſs into France; and all the arms, amounting to two thouſand, and the ſeventy colours belonging to the cavalry, were the general's; this was a moſt ſevere ſtroke upon his majeſty's intereſt in this part of the kingdom, for by it was loſt to him a body of four thouſand five hundred horſe.

Dennis Fort yielded to his excellency on the 16th, where he got twenty-two pieces of ordnance, two hundred arms and two colours; on the 13th the very large and opulent city of Exeter was ſurrendered to him by its governor Sir John Berkley, with the loſs of one hundred royaliſts killed, forty taken priſoners, and ſeventy cannon, and one thouſand five hundred arms, fell into his hands. On the 20th the town, caſtle, and fort of Barnſtaple yielded, with the ſlaughter of twenty; and here he gained thirty-five pieces of ordnance, and four hundred arms; the governor was Sir Allen Apſley. Sir Thomas having now entirely defeated all in the weſt, and ſubjected the whole country to the juriſdiction of the parliament, he left that part of the kingdom, and marched to Rorſhall-Houſe in Buckinghamſhire, which had a garriſon under Sir William Compton;

but it yielded to him June 10, after it had ſuſtained a ſiege of eighteen hours; in it he took five pieces of cannon and three hundred arms.

The important work of getting Oxford only remained to make the parliament triumphant, thither therefore he went, and began the ſiege May the 2d, his majeſty having previouſly left it, and took ſhelter and aſylum in the Scotch army, where he was promiſed every protection; and as his whole reliance was in their punctual obſervance of their promiſe, and not farther to widen the breach between him and the parliament, by unneceſſarily carrying on a war which he ſaw was in vain much longer to continue, he permitted all the garriſons to make the beſt terms they could, and ſubmit to the orders of the parliament; in compliance with theſe commands, the lords of the privy council, and Sir Thomas Glemham, the governor of that city, ſurrendered it, June the 24th, after loſing ſixty men; in it were three hundred pieces of ordnance, and two thouſand arms; but it was ſtipulated by the treaty, that neither the colleges ſhould be demoliſhed, nor their revenues ſequeſtered; but great was the triumph of the parliament to receive all the public ſeals uſed by his majeſty, which had been entruſted to the care of the privy council when he withdrew from the city; theſe were all broken in the preſence of the two houſes, who might well look upon themſelves as having, in like manner, deſtroyed the whole power of the crown.

Fairfax now ſet forwards to London; but in his

way thither he took in Wallingford Caſtle, in Berkſhire, which had a garriſon under the command of Colonel Thomas Blagge, who yielded July the 27th, having loſt five men; and left in it ſeven pieces of cannon, eight hundred arms, and ſeven colours; he then proceeded upon his march to London, which city he reached November the 12th, where he was received as his ſervices deſerved by his employers.

If we conſider the conſtant ſucceſſes of this man againſt ſuch a variety of brave and ſkilful commanders, it is extremely wonderful; and when we add the number of priſoners, ordnance, arms, ſtandards, and colours, taken by him in fifteen months, it ſurpaſſes credibility; and the perſons who acted under his command, had alſo vanquiſhed all oppoſition; he had driven the ſovereign into the Scotch camp, and the Prince of Wales into Jerſey, who ſoon after quitted it to go to France; and as the Earl of Eſſex, the other general of the parliament, died September the 14th preceding, the whole nation was actually proſtrate at his feet; all things were at his diſpoſal.

The general ſucceeded to the title of Lord Fairfax by the death of his father, who died in York March 13, 1647*, his own eldeſt brother, Sir William Fairfax, falling in the bed of honour in September 1644, immediately after having defeated Lord Byron at Montgomery Caſtle, and left no iſſue. He did not however go to the North to enjoy his paternal fields, which he might with credit to himſelf have done, as the war was

* Ferdinando Lord Fairfax was buried with uncommon ſolemnity.

cloſed, but retaining the command of the army, he might in a great meaſure be ſaid to be the chief governor of the kingdom.

The king having been moſt perfidiouſly ſold by the Scotch, to their brethren inarms in England, was received by the general with great attention, and it was evident that the parliament were jealous of this ſuppoſed friendſhip; becauſe had Charles, and the army under General Fairfax, compromiſed their differences, the parliament would have been at the mercy of both; but his majeſty having betrayed his diſlike to Cromwell, who had a vaſt ſway in the council of officers, that artful man procured a plot to frighten the king away from the army, that he might loſe their confidence, and, like moſt others of his deep-laid ſchemes, it was ſucceſsful; the king fled, and putting himſelf in the power of Hammond, a colonel in the army, and devoted to their intereſt, he became what he ever after was, a priſoner, and held his life merely by the will, and at the caprice of, the grandees of the army.

Compaſſion for the royal captive, diſcontent at there being no inclination manifeſted to put an end to the unhappy diviſions in the kingdom; diſlike at having an army living upon the public, all contributed to make the generality wiſh to have the king reſtored to his authority, and as many flew to arms to obtain the object of their deſires, it again kindled up the flames of civil war.

The county of Kent roſe in a large body, but were diſappointed that London would not join

them; however, one party threw themſelves into Maidſtone, and defended themſelves with an obſtinate valour that had ſcarce its parallel in the whole war; thither the general had haſtened though he was ill, and he commanded at the attack of the place, notwithſtanding he was ſuffering greatly from the gout: the action was fought May 31, 1648, in which many were killed, and the purſuit was very hot in the neighbouring pariſhes; the bodies of theſe unhappy fugitives are conſtantly being diſcovered in the places where they fell, chiefly in the fields adjoining the ſides of the roads.

Succeſs followed his ſtandard; having finiſhed this duty, he went to Colcheſter, where the royaliſts of Eſſex had put themſelves under the government of Lord Goring; this was a much longer buſineſs than the other, for his excellency ſat down before the town June the 13th, and he did not obtain it until Auguſt the 28th; ſo that the place ſuſtained a ten-weeks ſiege; here he ſtained his laurels by ſhooting Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, two young gentlemen greatly beloved, and their deaths were neither according to the rights of war, nor the ſemblance of juſtice; and ſo little was decency obſerved towards them, that they were not permitted time ſo much as to write to their friends, or make any preparation whatever for the change that was doomed them. Their deaths created an univerſal pity; even his majeſty forgot his own ſufferings to drop the tear of compaſſion for their un-

merited fate; when a gentleman came into the royal preſence, who wore mourning for one of them, the king wept.

The general took up his quarters at Windſor, where he preſided at the conſultation of the chief officers of his army, in what manner they ſhould ſatisfy themſelves for their ſervices in the war. It was evident to them that the parliament was deſirous to cloſe with the king, and that his majeſty wiſhed to ſettle their quarrel without applying to the army, not perceiving that the parliament could be annihilated by the nod of a general at the head of a victorious army.

Preferring the intereſt of the army to every other, he turned from the parliament; and it was by his orders that his ſovereign was ſeized when the treaty with his parliament was drawing to a concluſion; it was by him that the king was brought up to London; it was by his command that the parliament was garbled, that an act paſſed to try him as a malefactor; by his permiſſion he was led ignominiouſly to a mock trial, inſulted, derided, ſpit upon, in going and returning to an infamous tribunal, of which he was a judge, and had ſat in the Painted Chamber, January the 8th, to ſanction it; and it was he who ſent forces to guard him from eſcape, to ſee this moſt unjuſt and infamous murder openly committed in the face of day, in the midſt of the capital, and before one of his own palaces, without expreſſing one ſingle ſentiment of compaſſion for fallen majeſty, of that ſovereign to whom he had taken the oaths

of allegiance, and had ſworn to protect at the expence of every thing dear to him, and whoſe virtues, for he had many, he was well acquainted with.

How extremely different was the conduct of the general to that of his lady; who, when Lord Fairfax's name, as a commiſſioner, was called over, who ſtood firſt in the liſt of judges, and no anſwer was made; and it was repeated a ſecond time, a ſhrill voice from one of the boxes where the ladies were, was heard, ſaying, "He has more "wit than to be here." And afterwards, when the charge was read, "In the name of all the "good people of England," the ſame voice cried out, "No, nor half of them; it is falſe; where "are they, or their conſents? Oliver Cromwell "is a traitor;" in which ſhe was joined by Mrs. Nelſon, ſiſter to Sir Purbeck Temple. Surprize ſeized the court; and that vile wretch, Captain Daniel Axtell, who then commanded the ſoldiers that guarded his majeſty, ſtanding up, ſaid, "What drab is that, that diſturbs the court? "Come down, or I will fetch you down;" and turning to the ſoldiers, ſaid, "Fire at the "w——s;" and the ſoldiers directing the muzzles of their pieces, her ladyſhip was perſuaded to retire to Mr. Bodurdo's chamber, from which the gallery led. Theſe particulars were ſworn to at the trial of Axtell, who met his moſt deſerved fate at the reſtoration.

After this dreadful cataſtrophe, he continued at the head of the army, but he gradually loſt his

conſequence in it. Cromwell artfully drew him on to adopt thoſe projects which he wiſhed to have carried: Fairfax was as far from being able to cope with him in the cabinet as the king had been to contend with the general in the field. Under pretence, therefore, of not being ſatisfied in his conſcience to go againſt the Scots, who had broke into the kingdom in 1650, June the 12th, he reſigned the command of the army; and the following day an act paſſed to repeal the ordinance appointing him commander in chief of the parliament forces, and another, conſtituting Oliver Cromwell, Eſq. captain-general of all the forces raiſed and to be raiſed by authority of parliament within the commonwealth of England, with a power of granting, renewing, and altering the officers' commiſſions. One knows not which to wonder at the moſt, the pretence of conſcience in Fairfax about fighting againſt the Scots, who had taken up arms to reſtore the ſon of his royal maſter, murdered by his procurement, or Cromwell attempting to diſſuade him from quitting an office that he ſo much deſired, and perhaps would ſoon have ſeized, if it had not been reſigned by the general.

He now retired to his Yorkſhire eſtates, greatly enriched, and ſeemed to take no manner of notice of the public concerns, or the wars that were carried on in Scotland and Ireland. After Cromwell had obtained the ſovereignty, he remained in the ſame private retirement. Oliver gave him a place in ſome of the trivial commiſſions in the

county, but took no farther notice of him; he ſeemed rather to ſtudy to mortify a man whom he had once ſerved under; and this great general, who had roſe againſt his lawful prince, now ſaw the nation governed by the abſolute will and command of one whom he had ſo little a while before thought very much his inferior.

For ſome time he only ſecretly repined at his humiliating ſituation; but at length, unable to bear ſuch ſevere and public mortifications, he reſolved, in 1654, to reſtore their common maſter, as it was more eaſy to bear the yoke of a lawful, than an illegitimate governor; but the protector, who was all eyes, having defeated the attempts meditated againſt him, his lordſhip was obliged, to ſave himſelf more ſevere uſage, and the diſgrace of being perhaps dragged forth to open ſcorn, to confeſs the whole deſign againſt his highneſs; who, probably fearful of awakening any ſentiments of regard in the breaſts of ſuch of the ſoldiers whom he had commanded, accepted his apology, and left him a prey to ſtill more acute feelings; a ſituation his behaviour to the late king juſtly merited.

Unable to bear a fate ſo conſpicuous as his was in the eyes of all Europe, he could not withſtand the opportunity there was of again opening a correſpondence with the exiled king, dangerous as it was: it only tended to ſink him ſtill lower.

The marriage of his only child with the Duke of Buckingham, made the breach between theſe two famous generals ſtill the greater; the pro-

tectorial courtiers ſeemed to highly reſent it, becauſe it ought not to have proceeded until leave had been given by his highneſs, who, as chief magiſtrate, was in the ſame ſituation, and entitled to the ſame attentions as the former ſovereigns; and obſerved, that the duke might have been a proper match for one of Oliver's daughters. It was thought of ſo much conſequence by the protector, that there was iſſued the following order of council, dated from Whitehall, Tueſday, 17th November, 1657: "His highneſs having communicated to the council, that the lord Fairfax made "addreſs to him, with ſome deſires on behalf of "the Duke of Buckingham, ordered, that the "reſolves and act of parliament in the caſe of "the ſaid duke be communicated to the Lord "Fairfax, as the grounds of the council's proceedings touching the ſaid duke, and that there "be withal ſignified to the Lord Fairfax the "council's civil reſpects to his lordſhip's own "perſon; that the Earl of Mulgrave, the Lord-deputy Fleetwood, and the Lord Strickland, "be deſired to deliver a meſſage from the council to the Lord Fairfax, to the effect aforeſaid. "Henry Scobell, clerk of the council."—A more cool and ſevere contempt could not have been paſſed upon him; yet it was done in ſuch a manner that he could not openly reſent it.

It ſunk very deep in his mind. Cromwell was privately informed, that he feelingly remarked to Mr. Grimes, upon being aſked, if he did not think it proper to declare himſelf openly for the royal

cauſe, as he was cruelly inſulted by the then government, "That he felt the condition of himſelf and family, and of the uſage of the protector; and obſerved, that ſince the diſſolving of the parliament, which was broke up wrongfully, there was nothing but ſhifting, and a kind of confuſion; and that he knew not but that he might chuſe, by his old commiſſion as general, to appear in arms on behalf of the people of theſe nations;" and he told Mr. Worſnam how much he was diſcontented, and ſaid, "he had laid it up, and would remember it when there was occaſion;" but he felt there was a great difference between a general at the head of an army, and one who had quitted that poſt, when all thoſe whom he had known had received their preſent promotion, had looked for more from other hands.

Lord Fairfax had ſtill greater reaſon to wiſh for the re-eſtabliſhment of that monarchy which he had in ſo great a degree contributed to deſtroy. His only child was become, by marrying the Duke of Buckingham, September 24, 1657, the firſt female, the blood-royal excepted, that could be in the kingdom; and ſuch a court as Oliver's was not calculated for her to ſhine in, for it conſiſted only of puritans of the ſtricteſt form, and they chiefly military veterans; beſides, by the duke his ſon-in-law's means he was certain of receiving, not only pardon, but a gracious reception from the monarch whenever he was reſtored.

Theſe ſentiments were heightened when the

duke was apprehended Auguſt the 24th, and committed a priſoner to the Tower, for ſome attempts he had made againſt the protector, but who lived only ten days afterwards: the government, however, had ſtill the ſame reaſons for detaining his grace.

It was more mortifying for Lord Fairfax to own Richard for his ſovereign, than it had been his father, becauſe Oliver was confeſſedly as great a general as himſelf, but the younger protector had never even drawn his ſword.

No change however procured him any reſpect or conſequence, for when the army had reſtored the long parliament, no notice was taken of him, whilſt men, every way inferior to him, were caballing for that office which he once had filled with ſo much praiſe. His labouring under that moſt dreadful of all complaints the ſtone as well as gout, made him court eaſe and retirement; he therefore rather wiſhed well, than was enabled to promote the reſtoration of royalty.

Monk, in his way to London from Scotland, called upon his lordſhip: each of theſe taciturn generals waited for the other to ſpeak, that he might know the opinion his brother in arms entertained of public affairs. Fairfax, for once, found a more ſilent man than himſelf, and finding that the other would not declare his thoughts firſt, ſpoke of the grievances of the kingdom, and betrayed his wiſhes for the king's return; but Monk remained impenetrably myſterious: however, as ſoon as he durſt, he ſhewed the confidence

he repoſed in his lordſhip, by intruſting Hull into the hands of his relation Colonel Fairfax.

As the ſcheme of reſtoring the king to his dominions opened, he ſhewed his ſentiments more; and when the convention parliament met, and voted the king's return, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners to attend his majeſty at the Hague, who received him with ſingular kindneſs and attention, overlooking the ſhare he had in his father's death, from the ſervices he had ſtrove to render to himſelf.

He was ſoon after elected one of the knights for the county of York; but, when not in parliament, he lived a private retired life upon his own eſtates in that county, far from the court, which could very well diſpenſe with his preſence. His lordſhip died at his ſeat, November 12, 1671, aged 60. He married at Hackney, June 20, 1637, Ann, one of the coheirs of General Sir Horatio Lord Vere, who ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Palatinate war; by this lady he left an only child Mary, married to George, the witty and profligate Duke of Buckingham, by whom ſhe had no iſſue, and in whom the title of Buckingham expired. It is extraordinary that this alliance ſhould take place between ſuch oppoſite families, as the ſon of Charles I.'s great favourite, with the daughter of Fairfax, who, more than any other perſon, contributed to the ruin of that monarch.

Thoſe who wiſhed to reconcile Lord Fairfax's conduct at the reſtoration with it at the death of

King Charles, pretended that he was diverted from aſſiſting the unhappy prince at his laſt moments, by the length of Major-general Harriſon's long prayers, until the fatal blow was ſtruck; a more fooliſh thing could not gain credit; he not only aſſiſted in bringing King Charles to his mock trial and judgment, but knew that the warrant was ſigned, knew the hour appointed to put his majeſty to death, and ſent the guard that was to ſee the murder committed.

Lord Fairfax, if viewed as a general, demands our higheſt praiſes; he had been formed as a ſoldier under his father-in-law, and had firſt ſignalized himſelf at the taking of Bois le Duc from the Spaniards; Sir Horatio "was remarkable "for doing great things with few men, and Fair-"fax with the loſs of few." If the royaliſts were to be ſubdued, no one could have been better employed than this general, for he did all to ſoften the horrors of war; and though ſhockingly ſevere againſt his ſovereign, yet mild and gentle to thoſe he acted againſt; attentive and even condeſcending to thoſe gentlemen, who were obliged to ſubmit to his arms. To him we are indebted for the preſervation of many of our works of elegance and taſte, of the venerable remains of former ages, which, unleſs he had interpoſed, would have experienced the fate of the ſiſter kingdom.

None made a greater figure in the field, none a more contemptible one in the cabinet; there was a weakneſs in his perception that is ſcarce credi-

ble, in a perſon of his rank and education, much leſs in a ſoldier.

The elegance of his taſte made retirement pleaſant to him; he was formed for the ſociety of the learned, whom he loved and patronized; Mr. Roger Dodſworth, who was chief compiler of the Monaſticon, received a penſion from him.

The general's collections were valuable; amongſt them we are told was a ſet of engraved portraits of warriors; and his coins and medals formed afterwards a part of the ſplendid cabinet of Mr. Thoreſby.

He alſo employed his pen ſometimes; he wrote memorials of his own life; he even courted the muſes, by attempting a new verſion of the Pſalms of David, but as theſe have never been printed we may ſuppoſe he far better deſerved the laurel than the bays. What a contraſt muſt this preſbyterian puritan general be, to his ſon-in-law Buckingham!

As patron of the fine arts, and as one who alſo underſtood them, he deſervedly has very many and beautiful portraits taken of him in the precious metals, upon canvas, and by the graving tool. As a regicide, for ſuch undoubtedly in every ſenſe, he muſt be pronounced, though he did not give ſentence, nor ſign the warrant for execution; that print engraved, probably in Holland, is the moſt appropriate, which exhibits him holding the head of Charles I. by the hair, in his right hand, and an axe in his left; inſcribed, *Carnifex Regis Angliæ*. I ſuſpect that Lord Fair-

fax never forgave the Earl of Newcaſtle's proclaiming him and his father traytors in the year 1642.

The title of Baron Fairfax of Cameron deſcended to his nephew, Henry Fairfax, Eſq. ſon of Henry, the ſecond ſon of Thomas, who was the firſt nobleman of this title; which Henry Lord Fairfax was ſucceeded by Thomas his eldeſt ſon, the fifth of the title, who left three ſons Thomas, Henry, and Robert, who all became poſſeſſed of the barony, which expired in the laſt.

The vaſt poſſeſſions that they had acquired in America, the largeſt perhaps of any ſubject in the world, were loſt by that revolution which cut off the United Provinces from the mother country. Henry, the ſeventh Lord Fairfax, left the Britiſh court to exiſt in a wigwam, repoſing in the arms of a ſquaw; the laſt nobleman, his brother, who after living in the moſt extravagant profuſion, I ſaw buried in a manner more humble than the corpſe of one of the meaneſt cultivators of his eſtates would have been.

There is a diſtant branch of this family now in America, who is permitted, I believe, to retain ſome inconſiderable portion of the wide-extended domains of the Fairfaxes in that quarter of the globe.

The Life of GEORGE FENWICK, *Esq.*

GEORGE FENWICK, Esq. was of the Baronet family of Fenwick, in the county of Northumberland, so created by King Charles I. June 9, 1628, in the person of Sir John Fenwick, and which expired in another Sir John Fenwick, who was attainted and executed for a supposed design to assassinate king William III.

This gentleman early distinguished himself in the parliament cause in 1646; he, with Sir John Fenwick, who had originally been a loyalist, but made an early peace with the parliament, was appointed one of the commissioners for the performance of the treaty with Scotland, and in which it is said, any nine of them, whereof three of the house of peers, and six of the house of commons, were to be present, should be the commissioners of England for the conservation of the peace between the two kingdoms, to act according to the powers in that behalf expressed in the articles of the late treaty, and not otherwise.

He is here called only Mr. George Fenwick, though probably he was then in the parliament army, for in June, in the following year, he was ranked as a colonel, and was then in service in Ireland, where he behaved so gallantly, that the English parliament voted one thousand pounds, at the same time that they ordered a day of thanksgiving for their great successes in that kingdom.

He returned to England, and was employed in the North, in June 1648; for when Sir Marmaduke Langdale retreated to Carliſle, and had ſent eight troops of horſe, whereof two were compoſed of gentlemen, excellently mounted, towards Berwick, he and Mr. Sanderſon were diſpatched by Major-general Lambert to watch their motions; and though they were commanded by Sir Richard Tempeſt, who was regarded as a ſkilful and diligent officer, yet in the following month he, jointly with the major-general and Mr. Sanderſon, obtained a compleat victory over him, taking many of the ſuperior officers, who were gentlemen of the firſt families; and this important ſervice was performed without the loſs of one man: the names of the priſoners were ſent up to the parliament, where the news was received with peculiar joy.

He went afterwards with Cromwell into Scotland, and contributed to bring that kingdom into ſubjection to the parliament. The general ſent him at the head of his troop of horſe, and ſome dragoons, to relieve Holy Iſland, near Berwick; and he afterwards ſtormed Fenham Caſtle, which was garriſoned by Scots; this was in September.

In the meeting of the officers, at the head of whom was Cromwell, with the gentlemen of the four northern counties, it was agreed that a petition ſhould be preſented to the parliament for juſtice againſt delinquents, and for a commiſſion of oyer and terminer to be ſent to try ſuch as they ſhould apprehend, and to pay for one thouſand

foot in Berwick, and a regiment of horſe under Colonel Fenwick, and for eight hundred foot in Carliſle, and a regiment of horſe. Theſe were things ſeemingly not much connected; but as it was only in October preceding the King's death, it is evident that the delinquents here mentioned chiefly aimed at the captive ſovereign, who was very ſoon after called the chief delinquent, and the putting in his claim upon the parliament appears to be a ſweetner of Cromwell's to win him to all the compliances he wanted of him; for he was at the beginning of the following year put down as one of the king's judges, in the act of the garbled houſe of commons, for erecting the pretended high court of juſtice, but he declined taking any ſteps in that moſt infamous tranſaction; for I ſuppoſe him to have been upon the ſpot; as it is not reaſonable to believe any were named who were not in London, or the environs.

He ſeems from this time to have ſeparated himſelf from Cromwell, and to have never more been in his confidence; he was one whom the protector's council would not permit to take his ſeat in the parliament called in 1656. The time of his death I have not ſeen: his two daughters and co-heirs were, Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Heſlerigge, of Noſeley, in Leiceſterſhire, Bart.; and Dorothy, to Sir William Williamſon, of Eaſt Markham, in the county of Nottingham, Bart. "who to the great grief of not only her ſaid huſ-"band, but likewiſe to all relations, friends, and "neighbours, departed this life on the 4th of

" November 1699, which was the day of her " birth, and the 54th year of her age."

The family of Fenwick were peculiarly favoured by the Protector Oliver, who in an eminent manner courted their ſervices. Major Fenwick, in 1655, was one of the commiſſioners of Suſſex, for the execution of the orders of his highneſs, and the council for the preſervation of the peace of the commonwealth. Captain Fenwick, whom Mr. Edward Rolt left at Farnborough, with Mr. Swift, to convey the letters ſent by Secretary Thurloe to him, as he was to follow the Swediſh camp; and Lieutenant-colonel Fenwick, who was ſhot through the body at Mardike, in June 1658: General Lockhart, when he left that place, waited on him and Colonel Drummond, alſo mortally wounded, to know if he could any way ſerve them; to whom he and his dying friend only aſked his promiſe that they ſhould be buried in Dunkirk. Probably this gentleman was the ſame perſon as was left at Farnborough, and in 1657 the protector had theſe committee-men of this family in the county of Northumberland: Sir John Fenwick, Knight and Baronet; William Fenwick, of Wallington, Eſq., who ſucceeded his father as baronet; Edward Fenwick, Eſq., Martin Fenwick, Eſq., and Cuthbert Fenwick, Eſq. They muſt have been very numerous, as they were a moſt ancient family; for Blome, in 1673, mentions, beſides theſe gentlemen, William Fenwick, of Bywell, Eſq.; William Fenwick, of Stanton, Eſq; and Triſtram Fenwick,

of Kenton, Gent. It was no wonder, therefore, that both the parliament and the protector were extremely attentive to them; the former, in March 1647, by an ordinance of both houſes, reſtored Mr. Fenwick to a fellowſhip in Cambridge; and in the preceding month had ordered Mr. Robert Fenwick, for his loſſes and good affection, one thouſand pounds. In the Myſtery of the good Old Cauſe, are two mentioned of the name; James Fenwick, captain of a troop of horſe; and William Fenwick, whom the writer ſays, "had but five hundred pound given him "by the parliament; ſo ſmall a ſum deſerves not "a Chriſtian name." I ſuſpect he was afterwards the baronet.

The Life of JOHN FOWKE, *Alderman of the City of London.*

JOHN FOWKE was an alderman of London, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the court; for this reaſon he was inveſted with ſome of the moſt conſiderable offices in the city, and thoſe the moſt profitable.

Having been appointed a commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, and refuſing to deliver up an account upon oath of what money he had received, he was committed by the other commiſſioners to the Fleet priſon; but ſeveral of the citizens, in July 1643, joining in a petition to the parliament in his behalf, he was ordered by them to be bailed, and the buſineſs was referred to another committee; but in the next month, it was determined by the Houſe of Commons, that he ſhould be accountable in the ſame manner as the other commiſſioners of the cuſtoms.

He was of thoſe who were deprived of their commiſſions in the militia of the city in 1647; but when a new one was ſettled, and the liſt was brought into the houſe to be approved, the houſe ordered their thanks to be given to the old commiſſioners.

This man was altogether treacherous and baſe, always pretending a regard for the parliament, yet ever betraying its beſt intereſts to the army; for when the two houſes, and the city, reſolved to put

themſelves in a poſture of defence, and had for that purpoſe called a committee of lords and commons, and another of the militia of London, and they had determined to act both collectively and individually to promote their common ſafety in defending themſelves againſt the criminal deſigns of the army, and, in conformity to which, as Lord Hollis remarks, " the committee went, " and did their parts, but they found Jacob's hand " every where; the army had ſo played Abſalom, " pretending an intention to ſettle peace immediately, correct the exorbitances with which " the people had been oppreſſed and abuſed, reſtore the king, with ſuch other plauſible " things; and their agents had ſo induſtriouſly " improved their intereſts, ſome falſe brothers " in the city, as Alderman Foulks and Alderman " Gibbs, ſo cunningly wrought upon men's " minds, ſometimes upon their fears, ſetting out " the ſtrength and power of the army, which " threatened nothing but ruin; ſometimes upon " their hopes and deſires of peace, gilding over " their proceedings, as all done in order to it; " ſometimes upon the diſlike of the preſent condition, aſſuring them all taxes and payments " would, by this means, be taken off; ſometimes upon their credulity, making them believe, that thoſe perſons whom the army had " in their eyes to remove, were not ſo well affected to the public, but had ſome particular " ends and deſigns of their own, to arm reformadoes, and ſet up the power of another ſword

" to rule and govern by, ſo to continue the miſe-
" ries and burdens of the people; by which falſe-
" hoods and jugglings, thoſe two chiefly, like
" Jannes and Jambres, had generally bewitched
" the city, and lulled it into a ſecurity, with-
" ſtanding thoſe who had no other thought than
" to deliver their brethren and themſelves from
" that ſubjection and vaſſalage to which they
" were then deſigned; and, 'ſays his lordſhip,'
" are ſince brought. As the citizens reſolved
" not to ſtir, but looked on to ſee what this
" army would do, ſome few did appear, rather to
" make objection and hinder the buſineſs than
" help it; and though many good orders were
" made for putting the city into a poſture to de-
" fend itſelf, none were obeyed; ſo on all hands
" the poor parliament, and kingdom, and city
" itſelf, were betrayed, and left to the mercy of
" the army, whoſe aim, we ſoon ſaw, was cruelty
" itſelf, injuſtice, oppreſſion, violence, and rebel-
" lion in the higheſt degree."

Such were the ſentiments of the vile duplicity of this man, and his brother alderman, which his lordſhip mentions, as an excuſe for the parliament and city making no barrier againſt the army, but baſely ſubmitted to every indignity and encroachment they choſe; but it is a very difficult thing to defend a body of ſenators, and of merchants and tradeſmen from a victorious army, though that army has been raiſed by the authority of the one, and chiefly paid by the contributions of the other; for what could reſtrain

them? Not duty; for both the parliament and the city had taught them that revolt and rebellion were not only neceſſary but laudable; and if they had learnt to practiſe theſe ſentiments againſt their legitimate rulers, much more would they againſt thoſe who had no juſt right to demand their obedience. Lord Hollis was a preſbyterian member of the Houſe of Commons, and could ſee the baſeneſs of the army; but could not perceive that it was only a reflected light from his own party, who had raiſed a ſtorm which they could not quell, and were obliged to ſtoop to a tenfold tyranny from the very men whom they had armed to lay their lawful ſovereign at their feet. Speaking farther of the baſeneſs of the city, he ſays, "I may ſay, they were a people prepared for ruin "and ſlavery. Gibbs and Fowke principally had "bewitched them; and agents for the army, who "were up and down, weakened men's hearts and "hands, ſo as nothing was done to any purpoſe "for putting them into a way of ſafety, or poſſi-"bility of deliverance."

It is undoubted, that none ſo greatly contributed to raiſe the civil war as the city of London, from ſome diſobligations ſhewn by the court; but much more from thoſe factious incendiaries that filled the pulpits in their churches, the gloomy puritans; but none lamented the death of the ſovereign more, nor had more reaſon; for the war fell, as it always muſt, moſt upon the richeſt; and war and commerce are incompatible. The city ſhould have inſiſted upon peace be-

tween the king and his parliament; and had they done it with firmneſs, both muſt have decided their quarrel in the only proper mode it could have been done. The parliament demanded redreſs of many encroachments; Charles was made ſenſible that they were ſuch, and had complied with their deſires; but the parliament, having began to taſte the ſweets of ſovereignty, wiſhed to render him a cypher: the city ſhould have ſupported the juſt rights of the crown, and not have been cajoled by ſo wicked an inſtrument as Fowke, who was only the vile agent of the junto of the officers of the army.

The faction put his name in the commiſſion for trying the ſovereign, conſtituting him one of his majeſty's judges; but he was too wiſe to publicly act in a buſineſs that he had ſo craftily promoted.

He continued his acquieſcence in all the modifications that the army were pleaſed to adopt. Cromwell, who was at the head of that intereſt, had him elected lord mayor in 1653; yet this could not prevent his fellow-citizens ſhewing their juſt diſlike to ſo hateful a character; for in October, in this very year, though inveſted with the magiſtracy, and patronized with the authority of the protector, the common-council preſented a petition againſt him to the parliament, which was referred to a committee.

The remains of the parliament, in deriſion called the Rump, knowing how material it was to gain this man, conſtituted him one of the city militia, July 7, 1659. At the reſtoration, he was

perhaps the moſt odious perſon in the city; his avarice was ſo proverbial, that he was ſaid, from his extenſive dealings into diſtant countries, to have laid Jews, Gentiles, papiſts, and proteſtants alike under the ſevereſt contributions; his arbitrary and querulous diſpoſition loſt him even the hearts of thoſe who acted with him; and his having been one of the infamous inſtruments to ſubject the city, and the nation itſelf, to the lawleſs controul of the army, rendered him truly and deſervedly deteſtable. Yet criminal as he was, the government permitted him to retain the vaſt riches he had ſo unworthily acquired; he ſunk, however, into univerſal contempt. Probably he ſpent ſome of his time in retirement at Iſlington; for Sarah, wife of Thomas Fowke, merchant, was buried there in 1663. This infamous lord mayor bore for his arms, *Vert, a fleur de lis argent.*

The Life of GEORGE FLEETWOOD, *Esq.*

GEORGE FLEETWOOD, Esq. was the son of Sir William Fleetwood, of Aldwincle, and Woodstock, Knt. cup-bearer and comptroller to both King James I. and Charles I., and a great sufferer for the royal cause; and surviving the restoration, was restored to the places he had possessed under the grandfather and father of the reigning sovereign. His eldest brother, Miles, was knighted by King Charles II.; his second brother, William, was a colonel in the parliament army; and Charles, his youngest brother, became the parliament general after the death of his father-in-law, the elder protector.

Never was a family more divided than the Fleetwoods at this time; the eldest branch, the baronets, were strict Roman catholics; many kept true to the church of England; whilst this gentleman, and his youngest brother, became the wildest enthusiasts.

Devoted to the parliament at the commencement of the civil war, he slided to the interest of the army, and was entirely under the controul of the chief leaders in it, especially Cromwell. He therefore having been named in the commission to try his sovereign, accepted the infamous office, sitting in the Painted Chamber on the 18th, 26th, and 27th of January, and in Westminster Hall on

the laſt of them, and ſigned the death-warrant of that king, who had ſo eminently patronized his family; an inſtance of ſhocking ingratitude, that muſt render him peculiarly deteſtable.

Though one of the long parliament, he deſerted that intereſt to ſupport the government of his general, Cromwell, who raiſed him to various diſtinctions, and ultimately placed him in his upper houſe as Lord Fleetwood, where I have already ſpoken of him.

I ſuppoſe he was the Colonel Fleetwood whom Lord Hollis ſays, was, by way of ſequeſtration, put into the remembrancer's place of the court of wards, which his brother held, and by going to Oxford loſt; and who, upon the breaking up of the royal court, had three thouſand pounds given him as a recompence.

At the reſtoration, he was one of thoſe excepted out of the act of indemnity, both as to life and eſtate, though he had ſurrendered himſelf in obedience to the proclamation of the convention parliament. He was at this time a lieutenant-general in the army; but he was arraigned only as George Fleetwood, Eſq.; he was ſet at the bar in the Seſſions-houſe, at the Old-Bailey, October 10, 1660. When he was aſked, whether he was guilty or not guilty, he prudently replied, "My lord, I "came in upon his majeſty's proclamation;" and when directed to anſwer in the affirmative or negative, he replied, "I muſt confeſs I am "guilty;" and then delivered a petition to the

court, which he ſaid was directed to his majeſty and the parliament, and it was received; and when found guily, and aſked what he had to ſay why ſentence ſhould not paſs? he ſaid, "My "lord, I have already confeſſed the fact; I wiſh "I could expreſs my ſorrow," and wept.

Sentence having been paſſed upon him, he was taken again to the Tower; but through the intereſt of his venerable father, and other friends, his majeſty not only reſpited the ſentence, but at length permitted him to go at large; when, ſeeing how odious and contemptible he was here, he paſſed over to America, and lived with thoſe whoſe ſentiments were congenial to his own; but, inſtead of humble gratitude to his gracious and merciful ſovereign, inſtead of humbling himſelf before the throne of his heavenly judge, he proudly exulted in the infamous wickedneſs he had perpetrated. And here it may be remarked, that theſe men, who, though they were convinced that both their own and foreign nations looked upon them as moſt criminal, and pretended to think ſo of themſelves at the bar, yet, if they got away from impending danger, exulted in their ſhocking breach of the rights of all civil ſociety. If they had been led, as a few were, to execution, they would, with a very few exceptions, have triumphed in their deaths, and acted a part to make the people believe they were martyrs for liberty, and even the cauſe of Chriſt; though it is well known, that they were as far from know-

ing the juſt principles of the goſpel as from practiſing them; and that their religion was only an hypocritical form of godlineſs, uſed as a cloak to cover the greateſt crimes and the moſt ſelfiſh practices.

The Life of JOHN FRY, *Esq.*

JOHN FRY, Esq. was seated at Yarty, near Membury, in the county of Devon, and was, I think, son and heir of William Fry, Esq. of that place, by Mary, daughter of John Younge, of Culliton, in Devonshire, Esq. ancestors of the baronets of that name; the youngest were as decidedly in the interest of the parliament as they afterwards were enemies to the Cromwells.

This gentleman had great abilities, which gave him celebrity at first; but he had no stability. Leaving his own church, he was constantly shifting his religious creed, and, like vast numbers at this period, he could not help shewing his weakness to the public: he was presbyterian, independent, Arian; courted and despised by all parties: his works were doomed by the parliament to be burnt by the common executioner, "as "erroneous, profane, and highly scandalous."

He was appointed one of King Charles's pretended judges; and attended all the meetings in the Painted Chamber, from January the 8th to the 25th inclusive; he sat in Westminster Hall upon the 20th, the 21st, and 22d; but not upon the last, neither did he sign the warrant for execution.

He died in the year 1650, having just been expelled parliament, and in danger of some signal punishment, for his going greater lengths in religion than his masters judged proper.

William Fry, Eſq. whom I ſuppoſe was his brother, was a committee-man for Devonſhire; whom Major-general Deſborough recommended to Secretary Thurloe for one of the commiſſioners for Dorſet.

The regicide was ſucceeded in the eſtate and ſeat of Yarty, by his ſon, John Fry, Eſq*. His father not being mentioned in the exceptive clauſe in the bill of indemnity. He married Anna, daughter of Robert Napier, of Punknoll, Eſq. maſter of the hanaper to King Charles I. and King Charles II. and poſſeſſed many other places in the court of the laſt prince, after his return to his dominions, and whoſe loyalty to the former of thoſe monarchs had ſubjected him to plunders and ſequeſtrations by the uſurpers. Mrs. Fry's brother, Robert Napier, Eſq. was a very confidential ſervant to King Charles II. alſo clerk of the hanaper, and whom that monarch created a baronet.

* John Fry, Eſq. was a member for Shafteſbury, in the long parliament; but I do not know whether the father or the ſon.

The Life of AUGUSTINE GARLAND, *Esq.*

AUGUSTINE GARLAND, Esq. was settled in the county of Essex, and bred to the bar; but for some time quitted the law to join the parliament army; he was returned a member in the long parliament in 1648; and when the idea of the army was to destroy the king, they put his name in the commission, constituting him one of the judges of the pretended high court of justice, and he was named by the junto of the parliament, chairman of the committee which prepared the bill; and he sat in all the public and private meetings of the infamous court, when it met either in the Painted Chamber or Westminster Hall, except four days in the former, the 12th, the 18th, 19th, and the 24th of January; gave sentence in this unrighteous cause, and signed the warrant for the completion of the villany.

At the restoration he was excepted out of the bill of pardon and indemnity, and subjected to the loss of life and estate, though he had surrendered to the parliament according to their proclamation. He was arraigned at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey October 10, 1660, and pleaded not guilty, and tried the 16th following. When addressing the court, he said, "may it "please your lordship, I came here this day in- "tending to have waved my plea, and referred "myself to this honourable court, to be recom- "mended to the king's mercy and the parlia-

" ment's; but hearing of ſome ſcandal upon me, " more than ever I did hear till within theſe few " days, I ſhall deſire your favour in my trial." Mr. Solicitor-general, " my lord, he ſaith well; " for if he had confeſſed the indictment we " ſhould not have accepted it;" and then directing the witneſſes to be called, Mr. Garland ſaid, " I do confeſs this, I ſat, and at the day of " ſentence, ſigned the warrant for execution." Mr. Solicitor-general then told the court, " and " we will prove that he ſpat in the king's face." To whom Mr. Garland replied, " I pray let me " hear that, otherwiſe I would not have put you " to any trouble at all."

Clench being ſworn, and aſked whether he knew the priſoner at the bar, Auguſtine Garland? ſaid, " I know him very well." Council. " Tell my lords and the jury how you ſaw him " behave himſelf to our ſovereign lord the king " when he was at the bar." Clench, " I was " that day at Weſtminſter Hall when the king " had ſentence; they hurried the king down; this " Mr. Garland came down ſtairs by them; to- " wards the bottom of the ſtairs he ſpit in his " face, at a little diſtance." Council, " do you " believe he did it on purpoſe, upon your oath." Clench, " I ſuppoſe he did it ſomewhat ſuſ- " piciouſly in that way, I did ſee the king put " his hand in his left pocket, but I do not know " whether the king wiped it away." Mr. Solicitor-general, " the king wiped it off, but he " will never wipe it off ſo long as he lives: he

" hath confeſſed that he ſat, that he ſentenced,
" and that he ſigned; we ſay he contrived it at
" the beginning, and at laſt bid defiance to the
" king; I ſhall deſire he may be remembered in
" another place."

Mr. Garland, " I do not know that I was
" near him at that time; I do not remember
" this paſſage, I am afraid he is an indigent per-
" ſon. If I was guilty of this inhumanity I
" deſire no favour from God Almighty."

Lord Chief Juſtice, " I will tell you this doth
" not concern the jury; but this circumſtance
" poſſibly may be conſidered in another place."

Mr. Garland then took leave of the court, by ſaying, " I refer myſelf whether you be ſatisfied
" that I did ſuch an inhuman act, I ſubmit that
" to you: I dare appeal to all theſe gentlemen
" here, looking upon the priſoners, or any other,
" whether they ever heard of it, nor was I ever
" accuſed for ſuch a thing till a few days ſince;
" but I wave my plea, and refer myſelf to the
" court. Now, my lord, this is the truth of the
" caſe, there is that honourable gentleman the
" ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, knows I
" lived in Eſſex in the beginning of theſe trou-
" bles, and I was inforced to forſake my habita-
" tion; I came from thence to London, where I
" have behaved myſelf fairly in my way. After-
" wards in 1648 I was choſen a member into the
" parliament; in June 1648 I came in a member
" of the parliament. My lord, after the divi-
" ſions of the houſe by the inſolency of the

" ſoldiery, ſome came to me and deſired me that
" I would go to the houſe; I was then in my
" chamber at Lincoln's Inn; I forebore a week
" and more; ſaid I, I do not expect to be ad-
" mitted, for they look upon me as another per-
" ſon; ſaid they, if you will go you ſhall have
" no contradiction; I went, I went in; when I
" was in, the firſt buſineſs that came was the
" buſineſs of trial of the king, and it was put
" on me to be chairman for bringing in this act
" for trial; I did not know how to contradict that
" power or authority, be it what it will, but I
" muſt obey; I fear my ruin will follow it; in
" that reſpect, my lord, when I came there, I was
" forced to run throughout what they had im-
" poſed upon me. Having ſeen me, I could not
" ſhrink from them for fear of my own deſtruc-
" tion, and thereupon I did go in, and did that
" which I have confeſſed to your lordſhips, not
" out of any malignity to his majeſty; I never
" had any diſreſpect to him in my life; my lord,
" I did not know which way to be ſafe in any
" thing; without doors was miſery, within doors
" was miſchief. I do appeal to all that had any
" thing to do with me, that I never did any
" wrong to any that was of the king's party, but
" helped them as I was able. My lord, when
" the government was thus toſſed, and turned,
" and tumbled, and I knew not what, and the
" ſecluded members came into the houſe, I knew
" not what to do in that caſe neither. As ſoon
" as this parliament had declared the treaty,

" which was the 8th of May, the 9th of May I " appeared before the Right Honourable the Lord " Mayor of London, and did claim the benefit " of his majeſty's gracious declaration, and to " became a loyal ſubject, as in my heart I always " was; and my Lord Mayor being there, I hope " he will teſtify that as ſoon as I heard of the " proclamation, I rendered myſelf according to " the proclamation. My lord, this hath been " the carriage of me, being always under fear and " force: I refer myſelf to your lordſhips."

Sentence was paſſed upon him, but he was ſaved by the ſon of that monarch to whom he had ſhewed none, as appears by the king's trial, in which he ſeemed over ſedulous; where or when his death happened, is not I believe known.

This man has all the appearance of being extremely weak, the tool of the party throughout, and as timid as weak. The inhumanity alledged againſt him, was not well ſubſtantiated. Such indignities, with quaffing tobacco fumes in the face of the fallen degraded king undoubtedly did happen in his way to and from his trial, and whilſt in confinement, a little time previous to his death; but theſe brutal acts were committed by the ſoldiers, at the inſtigation of their vile officers. The royal ſufferer bore theſe indignities with a manly and meek carriage, as one who then looked only for reſt and peace in thoſe realms which lie beyond the grave.

Mr. Garland's excuſe, that he was obliged to go through this perverſion of juſtice was highly im-

proper; others were named, yet did not act, and were not injured for declining what their conſciences dictated was the higheſt crime the law knows; and as he was bred to that profeſſion, he of all others ought to have withſtood every attempt to forfeit that allegiance he owed his ſovereign. The very men who aſked him to go into the ſnare would have ſecretly honoured him for refuſing to obey their commands.

He ſhould not have advanced what no one could believe, that he was "always a loyal ſubject in "his heart;" no faith could be ſo ſtrong to credit what ſo contradicted his actions; for it was not a ſingle day's erration, but a deliberate treaſon of the moſt flagicious nature, and ſuch as none could be ignorant of, nor of the puniſhment annexed.

So little did the parliament, the army, the protectors, even the rump, value this man, that he was ſuffered to remain in obſcurity; and his inſignificance happily protected him after his life became forfeited.

The Life of WILLIAM GOFFE, *Esq.*

WILLIAM GOFFE, Esq. was the son of the puritanical rector of Stanmer, in Sussex, the Reverend Stephen Goffe. He was bred to the trade of a dry-salter in London; but leaving that for the profession of the army, he rose to the rank of a colonel in the parliament service; was named one of the commissioners of the high court of justice, erected to destroy his sovereign under a legal form, and assisted every day in promoting so vile an act, but on the 10th, 12th, 18th, 20th, and 23d days of January, in the Painted Chamber; and not only gave sentence against, but signed the warrant to murder the king.

He rose to great honour under the Cromwells, and was one of the few who remained true to their interest throughout. Of his farther history I forbear to speak, having already given it amongst the Protector Oliver's Lords, in my Cromwell memoirs. I shall therefore only observe, that being excepted out of the act of indemnity at the restoration, both as to life and estate, he thought it better to fly than surrender himself to justice, as the proclamation ordered; he effected his escape to North America, where, cut off from all human society but his father-in-law Whalley, equally implicated in this blackest crime, he spent forty years of as great misery and wretchedness as can be paralleled. Dreadful as their sin

had been, none can read their ſufferings without commiſeration, and the endearing ſoftneſs, the firm yet gentle conſtancy of his amiable wife to her parent and her huſband, in their years of captivity, muſt melt any heart that is not impenetrable to pity, and ought to be a leſſon written in braſs, to deter men from enormous vices, that leave only the wretched alternative of a painful and ignominious death, or a life of infamy, dread, and miſery, ſeparated from all thoſe connections that render exiſtence deſirable; that here have no hope; that hereafter can have no proſpect, but of ſtill greater inflictions, unleſs their crimes are redeemed with the ſevereſt and ſincereſt repentance.

The Life of JOHN GOURDON, *Eſq.*

JOHN GOURDON, Eſq. was ſeated at Aſſington, in the county of Suffolk, was returned one of the repreſentatives for the borough of Ipſwich, in that county, and became one of the parliament committee-men there.

Lord Hollis ſpeaks of him with much contempt, as a favourer of the army, and one who made a party in the houſe of commons to perform whatever their maſters of the ſword dictated. For when the parliament required, "that the houſes be "purged, thoſe who have appeared againſt them "not to be theirs, and the kingdom's judges, "whoſe names they *ſaid* they would ſpeedily "give in; they told the parliament what ſort of "men they will have preferred to power and truſt "in the commonwealth; then (which was a "crime ſome ſix weeks before), to move in par-"liament, and in a parliamentary way, ſo as that "ſagacious gentleman, Mr. Gurden, ſtood up in "a rage, and ſaid it ſmelt of Oxford, and it was "much decried by all the crew, but is now of "public merit, and very pious, coming from "their maſters, the army, they would have a de-"terminate period of time ſet to the parliament, "and ſome proviſion made for the continuance "of future parliaments."

It is certain that the army cajoled the parliament into what terms they pleaſed, even before

they put that violence upon them, previous to his Majeſty's death, which this gentleman, as much a friend as he was to their meaſures, would never promote by accepting the infamous office they had allotted him, of ſitting upon his ſovereign as a judge.

We know ſo very little of this perſon, that we muſt ſuppoſe him extremely inſignificant in every other reſpect, than as a member of this extraordinary parliament. He appears as one of Oliver's committee alſo for his own county, and was continued in that unpopular office, probably until the reſtoration, which he ſurvived. In May 1649, Dr. Gourdon, the phyſician, was made maſter of the Mint, in the room of Sir Robert Harley, who refuſed to uſe the republican type for the coin.

The Life of ROGER GRATWICK, *Esq.*

ROGER GRATWICK, Esq. was, I apprehend, son of William Gratwick, Esq. by Amphilis, the youngest daughter of Sir Benjamin Tichborne, Knight and Baronet, a gentleman of the privy chamber to King James I. several of whose sons were greatly distinguished in the civil war as the partizans of the parliament, which might induce this gentleman to unite in the same cause; but his name is so little known at this time, that was it not from his being mentioned as one of the commissioners of the high court of justice, history would be silent respecting his ever having existed. He had, however, resolution to withstand the plot laid to make him infamous to posterity; for he never in the least assisted in any part of the odious and impious act.

The Life of THOMAS *Lord* GREY.

THOMAS LORD GREY was of a very illuſtrious family, being deſcended from a younger branch of the Greys, who had enjoyed the title firſt of Marquis Dorſet, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk; but they loſt this pre-eminent rank by the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, after the death of King Edward VI.

King James I. compaſſionating a family who had been by this fatal ambition levelled to the ſtation of gentry only, raiſed Sir Henry Grey, of Pergo, in Eſſex, ſon and heir of John Grey, of the ſame place, Eſq. a younger brother of the Duke of Suffolk, to the peerage, by creating him Lord Grey, of Groby, a barony that had deſcended to the Greys by marrying an heireſs of the De Ferrer's family; this nobleman died in 1614, and was ſucceeded by

Henry, the ſecond Lord Grey, of Groby, and created by his majeſty King Charles I. March 26, 1628, Earl of Stamford; who, by Ann, youngeſt daughter and coheir of William Earl of Exeter, had Thomas Lord Grey, the ſubject of this memoir, Anchitel, John, and Leonard; Elizabeth, married to Sir George Booth, created by King Charles II. for his diſtinguiſhed loyalty, juſt preceding the revolution, Lord de la Mere; Diana, to Robert Earl of Aylesſbury; Joan, Ann, and Mary: neither of the two latter ever married.

His Lordſhip, from his birth, his expectations, the gratitude his family owed to the royal houſe of Stuart, and particularly to his majeſty, might have been ſuppoſed the laſt to have riſen up againſt his ſovereign; and that if he had been led away by the heat of paſſion from his duty, would, when he ſaw the adverſe party take decided means to deſtroy the monarch, and aboliſh the kingly office, have retraced, with the ſwiftneſs of an eagle, and the fury of a lion, his devious ſteps; but, like a rebel againſt his royal maſter, and an enemy to that order which he was born to inherit, or bequeath to his poſterity at leaſt, he was foremoſt in throwing down every thing ſacred, every thing that he, in a peculiar manner, was bound to have upheld and ſupported; and painful as it is, I am obliged to deliver him down to poſterity with an ignominy that has ſcarce ever been paralleled in the Chriſtian world.

This nobleman having been returned a member in the ever-memorable long parliament, immediately diſtinguiſhed himſelf by going into the moſt violent courſes that the worſt enemies of the court adopted; he ſigned the Proteſtation, and fought every mean to make the wound between the ſovereign and his people ſo deep, that nothing ſhort of ruin could enſue.

The moment, to him wiſhed-for moment, came, that the war was decreed: he ſignalized himſelf by collecting his men, and joining the ſtandard of revolt. The parliament, proud of a young noble-

man to aſſiſt in their cauſe, gave him every confidence they could, little ſuſpecting that in the end he would prove as faithleſs to themſelves as he had done to the king; round whom was collected the ſons of moſt of the ennobled families in the kingdom. The few on the parliament ſide, eſpecially in the commencement of the war, made him more conſpicuous, and gave him a conſequence that was extremely flattering to his pride: he loſt ſight of all decency and moderation. However, ſituated as he was, he might have been excuſed entering in the war on the parliament ſide, when ſo large a proportion of the nation at firſt were ſo inflamed againſt the court, and the Earl of Stamford took that ſide of the cauſe, and even became a general of their army in the Weſt, though he never made any diſtinguiſhed figure in the field, that was reſerved to this, his ſon. The earl was contaminated by every crime; his ſon ſeemed ambitious to excel him as much in profligacy as in arms.

The parliament gave Lord Grey the command of Leiceſterſhire, and of the aſſociated midland counties, and appointed him governor of the town of Leiceſter, where a ſtrong garriſon was placed.

His Lordſhip was under many obligations to the Earl of Eſſex, the parliament generaliſſimo, who was appointed to go and relieve Glouceſter, then beſieged by his majeſty in perſon, as having a great deſire to obtain a place which commanded the Severn; anxious therefore to prevent what would give ſuch a vaſt ſuperiority to the

middle of the kingdom, Eſſex was ordered to go down and ſecure it for his employers. Lord Grey, to ſhew his reſpects to his ſuperior commander, and one to whom he had a peculiar devoir, with Colonel Harvey, marched to that nobleman's rendezvous at Aylesſbury, Auguſt 29, 1643, at the head of a large body of forces belonging to the aſſociated counties, and a number of volunteers; and the parliament, who before had much neglected their general, ſtrove by every mean to gratify him to the full; and to recruit his army, completed the regiments by freſh levies of ſoldiers raiſed in London; the trained bands alſo were in part ſent, and the ſhops ſhut up, until the whole complement wanted were raiſed; and the army ſet out on their way to Glouceſter, which was immediately relieved, juſt in time to prevent its ſurrender, and having ſtaid there three days, the whole army returned to London, having in their march obtained a victory at Newbury over the royal army.

The parliament and the city were extravagant in their joy upon this occaſion; the Scotch covenant was embraced with a kind of holy furor by all ranks of men; from the church they removed to the camp, offering the moſt fulſome addreſſes to Eſſex, the vaineſt of the vain; the mayor and his brethren, with the train bands, ſaluted him, as the protector and defender of their lives and fortunes, and of their wives and children.

Thoſe who had contributed to this ſucceſs were alſo publicly thanked by the houſe of commons;

amongſt them the Lord Grey ſtood the foremoſt, for his good ſervice done in the late relief of Glouceſter, and victory of Newbury; and they ordered that this ſhould be entered in the parliament journals for an honour to them and their poſterity.

That ſtandard which the army had taken at Newbury was certainly very ſignificant of him, in both ſenſes; for it diſplayed the houſe of parliament, with two traitors' heads fixed upon the top of it, with this motto, *ut extra, ſic infra*; becauſe he was alike diſloyal to his ſovereign, both in and out of the houſe.

In the middle of the enſuing year his lordſhip and Sir John Gell united their forces to reduce his majeſty's garriſon at Wilney-Ferry in Derbyſhire, which had been very ſucceſsful in their ſallies; to effect this, they uſed a ſtratagem; they took ſixty cart loads of hay, and other things that would eaſily take fire, and conveyed them with their troops to the fort they meant to gain; the forces protecting the men who drove the carts, to enable them to overturn, and ſet their contents in a flame; and the wind ſitting that way the garriſon were ſo annoyed, that the Governor, Captain Robinſon, offered to quit the place with his baggage; but this was denied him, and a reſolute defence was preparing, until the men, overcome with the ſmoke, threw down their arms and ſurrendered. His lordſhip and his friend then obtained Wingfield and Shelford manors, in the ſame county, whoſe manſions were garriſoned for the

king. For theſe ſucceſſes his lordſhip, and Sir John received the thanks of parliament.

In the year 1644 there aroſe ſome miſunderſtanding between his lordſhip and the aſſociation in the county of Leiceſter; and ſoon after, he being abſent, probably in London, they preſented a petition to the parliament, requeſting he might be ſent down into the country as commander in chief, which was occaſioned by the fear of his majeſty, who aimed at gaining Leiceſter; and their common danger made them quit all altercation to withſtand the royal arms.

Theſe fears were not groundleſs, for the place was taken by ſtorm by the king, who entered the town June the 1ſt, in the year 1645; and there were taken in it, Colonel Grey, the governor, probably one of his lordſhip's brothers, and Captain Hackar, who afterwards became ſo infamous for the part he took in the king's death, both of whom were wounded; but the place ſoon afterwards fell into the hands of General Fairfax, who reinſtated the Greys in the government of it.

We hear little of his lordſhip for a conſiderable time after this; probably he remained chiefly in the government of Leiceſter; but in the middle of the year 1648, fearing another diſgrace, he, without the authority of parliament, with Captain Temple, raiſed a conſiderable body of troops in the county of Leiceſter; which afterwards was approved of by a vote of the houſe of commons.

The Duke of Hamilton having been defeated at Uttoxeter, and having ſurrendered himſelf

upon articles, Lord Grey came up, and ſhamefully took him out of the hands of Lambert, to whom his grace had ſigned the treaty, and then pretended that he was a priſoner without any ſtipulation for life, or liberty; and the parliament, to ſhew their ſanguinary diſpoſitions, in exact oppoſition to juſtice, adjudged the duke a priſoner to Lord Grey, that they might have a pretence to deſtroy him; and to affect this the better, they of the houſe of commons paſſed a vote of thanks to his lordſhip, for taking his grace a priſoner, and diſperſing a brigade of his horſe; and though the unfortunate duke applied to the honour of Grey to ſave him at his trial, it was to no purpoſe; his death had been decreed, as his royal maſter's, before he came to his trial, and he fell a ſacrifice to the ſhameleſs policy of the times. He mocked God by a day of thankſgiving for this victory over the Scots, and feaſted one hundred and fifty of his officers for it at Leiceſter. The Scotch had began the revolt againſt King Charles I. but in the end they paid very dear for it.

His Lordſhip, ſoon after this pretended ſervice, came to town, and aſſiſted at the call of ſerjeants at law; and with others, eſpecially the Earl of Kent, was complimented with a ring, by one of the new ſerjeants, as his peculiar friend, in compliance with a very ancient cuſtom. It redounds very little honour upon thoſe tools of the parliament, who continued to ſit in his majeſty's courts to adminiſter juſtice, when their ſovereign was in

the hands of men going to proſtitute all laws, human and divine, by ſolemnly mocking juſtice, with bringing him to a trial, and eſpecially to take the council, and be perſuaded to ſanction, as it were, the intended deed by Lord Grey, one of the moſt infamous of men, becauſe they ſuppoſed him armed with a little paltry authority; and yet Whitlock, who well knew his character, owns, that he, and the other judges ſat in the courts whilſt preparations were making in Weſtminſter Hall, for the trial of their unhappy king, baſely ſeized by the army.

Lord Grey had always been the foremoſt for violent meaſures, fearing, perhaps, that as he had ſinned paſt forgiveneſs, he would take every occaſion to urge on the deſtruction of the captive monarch, and demeaned himſelf by being, not only ſecretly in the council of officers, but openly the particular inſtrument to accompliſh it: for when it was reſolved that they would oblige the houſe of commons to ſanction their unheard-of impious deed, he, with a pride that diſtinguiſhed itſelf in wickedneſs, undertook to perform the dirty office by garbling the houſe of commons.

This has been called Colonel Pride's purge, but he was only the inferior inſtrument, for when that officer's foot were drawn up in the court of requeſts, upon the ſtairs, and in the lobby before the houſe, juſt preceding the time the houſe was to meet, his lordſhip ſtood near to direct him in what he was to do, and though Pride had a paper in his hand of the names of ſuch members as

were too honeſt to give any ſanction to the murder of their ſovereign; yet, as he did not perſonally know them, this office was performed jointly by his lordſhip and the door-keeper; and as each obnoxious member came, he was pointed out, ſecured, and ſent away by ſome of the ſoldiers to the queen's court, court of wards, and other places, according to the imperious commands of the general and council of the army. Theſe were men who dared to ſay that they drew their ſwords for the protection of the king, the freedom of the parliament, and the liberty of the ſubject, and could mock the Almighty by pretending that it had his ſanction.

He ſat in the Painted Chamber January the 8th, 15th, 17th, 18th, 20th, 22d, 23d, 24th, 26th, 27th, and 29th; and he ſat every day in Weſtminſter Hall, when his majeſty was brought before them, and ſigned the warrant for execution. His preſence probably was abſolutely neceſſary to give ſome ſanction to the infamous proceedings, and to overawe ſuch as might be refractory.

After this ever-to-be-lamented cataſtrophe, and they had changed the monarchy into a republic, he was named one of the council of ſtate for 1649, and continued in the ſame place of truſt and power in the years 1650 and 1651.

As he had advanced conſiderable ſums probably, and much was owing him in his military capacity, his diſburſements and arrears that he had preſented to the houſe, were taken into conſideration June 25, 1649, and they were referred

to a committee to conſider how they might be ſatisfied; and on the 3d of the following month, they were fully paſſed, and allowed to be due.

Lord Grey was now in his meridian glory; he had deſtroyed the ſovereign, and with him monarchy: he roſe to be one of the heads of the ſtate; having gratified his ambition, and the luſt of rule, he ſought alſo to glut himſelf with wealth, and this he had by no means been delicate in doing before; for Denzil Lord Hollis ſays, "he obtained a conſiderable ſum, to be "paid out of ſuch diſcoveries of the royaliſts' "eſtates, denominated then delinquents, as he "ſhould make; whereupon, ſays his lordſhip, "he and his terriers were long attending the "committee of examinations, in the proſecution "ſtill of ſome game or other, till his ſum was "made up." This ſum he had got by the army; but now, as one of the chief governors of the nation, he gained far greater ſums, and more valuable acquiſitions; with part of this money he purchaſed, at a very eaſy rate, the largeſt part of the loyal Lord Craven's eſtate, particularly Comb Abbey, worth at leaſt three thouſand pounds a year; and he received a grant from his brethren of the queen's manor-houſe, park, and lands at Holdenby, where he made a great devaſtation in the woods.

So far he had been truſted, courted, applauded, and gratified, chiefly by Cromwell; but as that great man ſaw that Grey was as ambitious as himſelf, or at leaſt that he could not brook a ſu-

perior, he began to treat him with leſs confidence, and at length to watch him as a dangerous perſon; as inimical to thoſe great deſigns he was meditating.

They probably moſt cordially hated each other; he feared Oliver, and regarded him as a revolter from the common intereſt; and the other knew the wickedneſs of his heart, and that a man who had been ſo untrue to his lawful ſovereign, could not be expected to be loyal to one whom he viewed as inferior to himſelf.

Outwardly, however, they behaved with ſeeming attention to each other, whilſt each was watching for the favourable moment to ruin his enemy. Oliver durſt not truſt him in London, the ſeat of government; he therefore kept him in his ſtation in Leiceſter: but that being the central ſituation of the kingdom, and, in caſe of a revolt, a very dangerous one for a perſon of Lord Grey's conſequence and turn of mind, he kept conſtant ſpies upon him; and being ſatisfied of the truth of what he had ſuppoſed, he ſent Colonel Francis Hacker to ſeize his lordſhip, and convey him to Windſor.

I cannot give a better account of it, than what the colonel wrote to the protector, February 12, 1654.

" May it pleaſe your highneſs,

" According to your command, I have ſeiſed " the Lord Grey and Captain Bodell. I have " alſo according to order ſeiſed 3 horſes, and 5 " caſe of piſtols, being all the armes I could find,

" and thoſe unfixed. My lord did informe mee, " that 3 of his beſt horſes was not yet come from " Stamford, where a race was lately; but he ex- " pected them this night, and if I would ſend for " them, they will be forth coming. The Lord " Grey is much diſtempered with the gout, and " was deſirous to knowe whither hee was to goe, " which I concealed from him, and hee perceiv- " ing mee not willing to declare, ſaid he was wil- " ling to ſubmitt to goe whether I pleaſed; but " deſires to come to London. I have not ac- " quainted him whether hee is to goe, but have " preſumed upon the advice and conſent of thoſe " with mee, in regard of his indiſpoſition of " health, to let him reſt at Leiceſter, where will " be three troopes for his guard, untill further " order from his highneſs." The reſt of the letter relates to the turbulent diſpoſition of the quakers, and is foreign to the preſent purpoſe. The protector, however, did not chuſe to permit a man to remain a priſoner where he had been a governor; and therefore, notwithſtanding the ill ſtate of his health, ordered him to be brought up to Windſor Caſtle, where he came the 27th of the ſame month; and we may ſuppoſe he entered it with different ſentiments than he left it, after he had contrived the agreement of the people previous to the king's trial. How long he remained in priſon, I have not ſeen; but he obtained his liberty, yet ſunk into the moſt wretched ſtate of contempt.

As a proof of this, it is ſufficient to remark,

that all parties, but the moſt deſpicable, viewed him with ſcorn; and his reputation was at ſo low an ebb, that he could not get the confidence of any but thoſe wretched fanatics, the fifth monarchy-men, at the head of whom was Major-general Harriſon. So fallen was this haughty, turbulent, and traitorous man, becoming the deriſion and contempt of all ſober and rational people.

The projects of theſe deſpicable perſons were long carried on, and, as they weakly imagined, with the utmoſt ſecrecy; the ſcheme was to deſtroy the protector, ſeize Monk in Scotland, and erect the kingdom of Chriſt. Grey was to be at the head; Colonel Saxby, as leſs ſuſpected, they ſuppoſed, than Harriſon, was made the active mover of the plot.

Their chief cabal was held in a houſe near Shoreditch, where they had agreed to print vaſt numbers of declarations againſt the protector's government; five thouſand of them were to be ſent into Leiceſterſhire, where his lordſhip's chief intereſt lay; and Heſelrigge, and other diſaffected perſons of various religious principles, were invited to join them.

What raiſed their conſequence, and made them more dangerous was, that the Spaniſh court was perſuaded, that money lent to theſe fifth monarchy-men would be better employed than if advanced to the cavaliers, as more deſperate, and better calculated to the temper of thoſe who hated Oliver's perſon and government.

Thurloe, to whom as ſecretary nothing was unknown, ſoon came to the information, which detected all theſe ſchemes which Grey was carrying on with his deſpicable aſſociates; but he did not interrupt them until the very evening preceding the day they meant to declare themſelves; when, ſending a party of ſoldiers, they ſeized the chiefs, Lord Grey, Venner, Gowler, Hopkins, Aſhton, and others, with all their apparatus ready prepared. Amongſt theſe, the principal object that arreſted their notice was a ſtandard with a lion depicted upon it, in a couchant poſture, as of the tribe of Judah, with this motto: *Who ſhall rouze him up?* There were numberleſs copies of theſe printed declarations, beginning with "The principle of the remnant," &c. ſuitable to the wild viſionary ideas of theſe expectants of ſeating Chriſt in the temporal as well as ſpiritual government of theſe nations. None can think that Grey had the leaſt opinion of the poſſibility of eſtabliſhing ſuch a monarchy; he only guided a ſilly multitude to perform what he alone believed he ſhould obtain the advantage of—wealth and power.

He was ſent to his former apartments at Windſor. Ludlow affects to ſuppoſe, that his impriſonment was ſolely owing to a copy of the "Memento" he had diſperſed in Ireland; but Thurloe's State Papers give us better information. By the ſame mode of reaſoning, the former gentleman imagines that Sexby's diſgrace was from

the ſame cauſe; he, however, eſcaped a priſon by a timely retreat; and that ſo haſtily, that his ſervant who was conveying away his portmantua, was ſeized. The protector, pretending to paſs over the miſconduct of Sexby, ſent him as an agent to Bourdeaux, in France; but took care to diſpatch a meſſenger to that government, to ſay how much he wiſhed him ſecured. Sexby, ſuſpicious, obtained information of his intention, and, effecting his eſcape over the city gate in the night, left the kingdom, and no more truſted to Oliver's inſidious proteſtations.

Lord Grey determined, if poſſible, to regain his liberty: to accompliſh this moſt deſirable event, he ſued for a hæbeas corpus, which the lord chief juſtice granted; but the governor of Windſor Caſtle refuſed to give obedience to it; nor did he obtain his freedom until he had given ſecurity, in the penalty of a large ſum of money, if he ever again acted againſt the government; "which he choſe," ſays Mr. Ludlow, "to do, "rather than engage his parole, thereby hazard-"ing only the loſs of ſo much money, and pre-"ſerving his honour and integrity;" but as perhaps Oliver thought he had neither of thoſe valuable properties, he took what was much better, a pecuniary ſecurity; the loſs of wealth being, he was convinced, the greateſt evil that Grey thought he could ſuffer.

The other conſpirators were ſent priſoners to the Gate-houſe, where they lay long in a miſe-

rable ſituation; but they were ſpared to create new diſturbances at the reſtoration; when, ſallying out into the ſtreets of London, proclaiming *King Jeſus*, they were ſurrounded as it were; but though they were only a few ill-armed perſons, ſuppoſing themſelves invulnerable, they could not be prevailed upon to ſubmit, until they were fatally convinced to the contrary. The ſurvivors expiated their crimes at Tyburn.

Happily for Lord Grey, and for the noble family from whence he derived his deſcent, he fell a victim to his own defeated wickedneſs, which, with the gout, brought to a vaſt height by the violence of his paſſions, put a period to his exiſtence in this world, juſt preceding the reſtoration, or he would have been held up to the infamy he ſeemed deſirous of aſpiring to, by ſo many, and ſuch atrocious crimes: it is not poſſible to draw from hiſtory a more infamous, or more deteſtable character. I have conſulted all our beſt peerages, to find the exact time of Lord Grey's death, and the place of his interment, but they are all ſilent reſpecting theſe circumſtances.

There is, at Lord Denbigh's ſeat, of Newnham Paddox, in Warwickſhire, a very fine portrait of Lord Grey, the regicide. The Earl of Denbigh of that day, was brother-in-law to this regicide, and meanly accepted of ſeveral places of profit under the commonwealth.

Lord Grey married Dorothy, ſecond daughter

and coheir of Edward Bourchier, fourth Earl of Bath, who long ſurvived him, and married two other huſbands; Guſtavus Mackſworth, Eſq., who was proclaimed a traitor by King Charles I. in the year 1642; and after his death, Charles Howden.

The iſſue of Lord Grey and this lady, was a ſon and two daughters: Thomas, who became the ſecond Earl of Stamford, ſucceeding his grandfather, who died Auguſt 21, 1673. King William III. appointed him chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Leiceſter; and Queen Ann called him to her privy council. This nobleman died January 31, 1719-20, aged ſixty-ſeven years. He left no iſſue by Mary, daughter and coheir of Joſeph Maynard, of Gunnerſbury, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq., ſon and heir of Sir John Maynard, Knt., one of the commiſſioners of the great ſeal. His eſtates devolved to his two ſiſters, or their repreſentatives: Elizabeth, married to Henry Benſon, of Charlton, in Northumberland, Eſq.; and Ann, to James Grove, Eſq. ſerjeant at law.

The earldom of Stamford came to Harry, the grandſon of John, third ſon of Henry, the firſt Earl of Stamford; ſo that the Marquis of Stamford, the poſſeſſor of ſo many virtues, is not, I am happy to ſay, the deſcendant of Thomas Lord Grey, who ſo eminently diſgraced his name and title.

The Life of THOMAS HAMMOND, *Esq.*

INCLUDING THAT OF HIS UNCLE,

COLONEL THOMAS HAMMOND.

THOMAS HAMMOND, Esq. was of an ancient and knightly family; a name as memorable for the distinguished merit of the excellent Dr. Hammond, as for the disgraceful part many of the family took against King Charles I. a monarch who loved, cherished, honoured, and revered the eminent divine and scholar, whose piety, virtue, and acquirements will ever render his memory respected, as an ornament to the christian world.

It is difficult to exactly distinguish the actions of the military Hammonds. I believe I am accurate in giving the following events as relative to, and belonging to the life of the regicide.

He was appointed to a regiment raised by King Charles I. to act against Scotland in 1639, but who, like many others, turned those arms against his majesty, which were put in their hands to defend him.

The parliament were pleased with his apostacy, and raised him to a far greater rank, and by a very rapid promotion; he became a lieutenant-general of the Ordnance; but I have not been able to learn any brilliant, or indeed any particular service deserving of this reward, except influencing many of his relations to take part against his royal master, as it were, to counteract the faith-

ful ſervices of his brother, the good Dr. Hammond.

He was named one of the commiſſioners of the high court of juſtice, and ſat in Weſtminſter Hall every day of the trial, and alſo in the Painted Chamber, with the omiſſions of the 8th, 10th, 13th, 19th, 24th, 25th, and 29th of January, and he ſigned the warrant for the execution.

He died before the reſtoration, but his name was inſerted in the act of attainder. His hiſtory is very little, but his conduct was very conſequential. He was rich and powerful, and probably had no children; this gave him it is preſumed great intereſt in, and command over his nephew, Colonel Thomas Hammnod, whoſe life is ſo very remarkable, and whoſe conduct was ſo momentous, that I ſhall depart from my uſual mode, in ſubjoining it, and this the rather, becauſe though he was not one of the regicides, yet he appears to have acted under the controul, direction, and, perhaps in a great meaſure, command of his uncle, one of the king's judges. If his brother, the reverend divine, had poſſeſſed as great an influence over this his nephew, how would it have turned the fate of the Britiſh monarch.

Colonel Thomas Hammond, a ſon of the regicide's brother, was originally an enſign in Sir Simon Harcourt's regiment, and went into the army in 1644. He much diſtinguiſhed himſelf when ſent by Colonel Maſſey to relieve the country round Berkley Caſtle, which ſuffered greatly from

the excurſions of the garriſon, and his valour and conduct was ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed in this enterprize, that it laid the foundation for all his ſubſequent reputation.

In the battle of Naſeby, fought in the year 1645, he performed his duty in the reſerve of the army, bringing it up as he was required in a moſt maſterly manner; and in the ſame year he was very ſerviceable in the ſtorming of Briſtol and Dartmouth; in the latter he led the forlorn hope with great gallantry and judgment. Towards the cloſe of this year he obtained Poudram Caſtle, in Devonſhire, which he was preparing to ſtorm when it ſurrendered to him.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, under whom both he and Lieutenant-general Hammond ſerved, was ſo well pleaſed with his conduct, that upon the ſurrender of the city of Exeter, April 13, 1646, he made him governor of it, and wrote to the parliament for their approbation, which was given. Soon after this, Mount Edgecome ſurrendered to him.

It being found neceſſary that ſome forces ſhould be ſent over to Ireland, which ſervice was by no means reliſhed by any of the army; until at length General Fairfax declared his willingneſs to go, Colonel Hammond was the firſt who ſhewed a readineſs to accompany his excellency thither; and the parliament had ſettled that Sir Thomas ſhould go as commander in chief to that kingdom, and Hammond was greatly approved of as one of his officers; but, ſays Lord Hollis, being "now a "colonel of the new model, he ſtood upon his

" pantoufles, that he would not be obliged for " longer than two or three months, have all his " pay beforehand, victuals for ſix months, though " he would ſtay but two, be abſolute commander " of all the forces there, have a proportion of " money over and above for contingent occaſions, " put into what hands he would appoint, a fleet " of ſhips to tranſport him, wait upon him, and " be at his diſpoſing, not to ſtir without leave; " in truth he muſt be admiral and general: ſuch " terms as no prince or foreign ſtate that had but " given an aſſiſtance, could have ſtood upon " higher. This was the obedient conſcientious " army; but moſt men were ſatisfied if it was not " diſbanded Ireland muſt be loſt, and England " undone."

I apprehend that he made theſe conditions becauſe of the danger of going thither, as it would preclude him from the greateſt advantages, by preventing his promotion in this kingdom; however, extravagant as his propoſitions were, the parliament, from the fears they were in, accepted them. But the general and his officers ſeeing their aim, drew up ſuch a petition to the houſe of commons that they knew was impoſſible to comply with; theſe petitions were to be forwarded to Lieutenant-general Hammond, and him; and alſo to Colonels Ireton and Rich.

The parliament getting information of this, and fearing the conſequences, ordered that he and others ſhould reſide in the army, and that ſome of their quarters ſhould be removed. This was

the firſt great attempt of the army to ſet up an intereſt independent of that of their employers, the parliament. However, a compromiſe ſoon was ſet on foot, and the army ſeemed willing to do what their maſters demanded of them; and in this acclamation, "All, all, Fairfax and Cromwell, "and we all go." Both Lieutenant General and Colonel Hammond joined, and with equal ſincerity.

Inſtead of going to Ireland, he came up to London with his regiment of foot, in the train of General Fairfax when he made his magnificent entry into London, Auguſt the 6th, 1647; and in September following, he was, by an ordinance of both houſes of parliament, made governor of the Iſle of Wight, a place of great importance at the time, but ſtill of much more by the circumſtances that followed.

For his majeſty being with the army at Hampton Court, was ſo alarmed by private letters and hints given him of his danger, that he reſolved to quit the army, in whoſe hands he then was, and if poſſible get to a place of ſafety; but this was one of the moſt unfortunate ſteps he took during his misfortunes, as it was a plot laid by Cromwell and other officers to make him odious to the army, becauſe it was ſeen that the neighbouring gentry and people, as well as many of both the higher and lower parts of the military, became attached to his perſon, compaſſionated his ſufferings, and would ſoon have rendered it impoſſible to have either led the ſoldiers againſt the king, if

the war was renewed, or otherwiſe conſent to his deſtruction.

His majeſty falling into the ſnare, made his eſcape, with Mr. John Aſhburnham and Sir John Berkley. It is not known whither their royal fugitive meant to truſt himſelf, but probably it was to get to a ſea-port town, and obtain a veſſel to carry himſelf out of the kingdom, and go to his continental friends, or tranſport himſelf over to Ireland, but the former is the more probable; but to leave conjecture, his majeſty arrived at Titchfield, the ſeat of the loyal Earl of Southampton, November the 11th, and there repoſed himſelf after the fatigues of his journey, having only Mr. Legge with him.

Sir John Berkley and Mr. Aſhburnham were diſpatched to Colonel Hammond, with a copy of the letter left upon the table by his majeſty, when he left Hampton Court and two others, which he had lately received, one of them without a name, expreſſing great fears and apprehenſions of the ill deſigns of the republican party againſt him; the other from Cromwell, of much the ſame import, and alſo to acquaint him, that to effect their purpoſes it was intended to have placed a new guard, conſiſting of men of theſe principles about his perſon the next day.

They likewiſe conveyed a letter, addreſſed from his majeſty to the governor, expreſſing his fears of the levellers in the army; but profeſſing the intereſt he took in the army in general, and of himſelf in particular as a gentleman who was of

good extraction, and not his perſonal enemy, and as ſuch he meant to entruſt himſelf to his care; but that he might not ſurprize him, he had ſent thoſe two gentlemen to acquaint him with his intentions, requeſting of him to give his promiſe of protection to himſelf, and them, as far as he could, and that if he declined it, to let them all retire in ſafety.

Sir John Berkley at leaving his majeſty, ſaid that as he had no knowledge of the governor, they might be detained, and therefore if they were, and did not return the next day, he requeſted the king to think no more of them, but effect his eſcape.

Towards evening theſe gentlemen came to Lymington, but a violent ſtorm having fallen, it rendered the paſſing there impracticable that night, but in the morning they went into the iſland, and proceeded to Cariſbrook Caſtle the governor's reſidence, but unfortunately he was gone to Newport.

Haſtening to go thither they overtook him, and delivered his majeſty's meſſage, at which he grew pale, and trembled to ſuch a degree that he was near falling from his horſe. Nor did he recover his conſternation of an hour, but ſometimes breaking out into paſſionate and diſtracted expreſſions, ſaying, "O gentlemen, you have undone me in bringing the king into the iſland, "if at leaſt you have brought him; and if you "have not, I pray let him not come; for, what "between my duty to the king, and gratitude to

" him, upon this freſh obligation of confidence, " and the diſcharge of my truſt to the army, I " ſhall be confounded."

They aſſured him that his majeſty meant to favour him and his poſterity, by giving him this opportunity of rendering ſo eſſential a ſervice, and which was no way incompatible with the duty he owed the army, becauſe they had ſolemnly engaged themſelves to the king; but that if he thought otherwiſe, his majeſty would be far from impoſing his royal perſon upon him.

To this he replied, " but if the king ſhould " come to any miſchance, what would the army " and the king ſay to him, who had refuſed to " receive him ?" to which they ſaid, that as the king had not come to him, it could not be objected to him that he had refuſed. Collecting himſelf, he deſired to know where his majeſty was, wiſhing, he ſaid, that he had abſolutely thrown himſelf upon his honour.

Theſe raiſed ſuſpicions in the king's friends, and, fearful of conſequences, they took the governor aſide, and ſome kind of agreement was entered into by him; Lord Clarendon tells us, that he would give no promiſe of permitting the king to retire, apologizing that he was only an inferior officer, and muſt do as his ſuperiors in the army commanded him, but ſaid, if his majeſty would come to him, he would treat him in the beſt manner he could, until he heard from the parliament. He then aſked where his majeſty was, which they did not think prudent to inform him; but ſaid

they would go, and acquaint their maſter with what the colonel had mentioned, and return with his majeſty's anſwer; he then expreſſed a wiſh to detain Mr. Aſhburnham, but that gentleman declined his conſent,

Mr. Ludlow makes it not ſo much to the governor's credit, for he ſays, that after ſome conference with Mr. Aſhburnham, he got him to declare, "that he did believe the king relied on "him as a perſon of honour and honeſty, and "therefore he did engage to perform whatſoever "could be expected from a perſon ſo qua-"lified."

Mr. Aſhburnham replied "I will aſk no "more;" then ſaid Hammond, "let us all go "to the king and acquaint him with it."

When they came to Cowes Caſtle, where a boat lay ready to carry them over, Colonel Hammond took Captain Baſket, the governor of that caſtle, with him, and gave order for a file of muſqueteers to follow them in another boat, ſays Ludlow; but Lord Clarendon, that the governor took only three or four ſoldiers, or ſervants to wait upon him, and this appears moſt probable.

When they came to Titchfield, Mr. Aſhburnham, leaving Sir John Berkley with Colonel Hammond and Captain Baſket below, went to his majeſty, who was in his bedchamber, and acquainted him with what had been done, and that the governor was below ready to fulfil what he had agreed to.

The aſtoniſhed and alarmed monarch in an

agony of grief exclaimed, ſtriking his breaſt, "what have you brought Hammond with you? "oh, Jack, thou haſt undone me; for I am by "this means made faſt from ſtirring."

Mr. Aſhburnham, ſeeing the king's agitation, ſaid he would go and ſecure the governor if he miſtruſted him, to which his majeſty ſaid, "I "underſtand you well enough; but if I ſhould "follow that counſel, it would be ſaid, and be-"lieved, that he ventured his life for me, and that "I had unworthily taken it from him:" adding, "it is now too late to think upon any thing but "going the way you have forced me upon," wondering how he could make ſo great an over-ſight; at which Mr. Aſhburnham, burſt into a paſſion of tears.

Colonel Hammond and his companion Captain Baſket, ſurprized they heard nothing, became impatient at their long attendance in the court; Sir John Berkley therefore ſent a gentleman of the Earl of Southampton's to deſire, that the king and Mr. Aſhburnham would remember that they were below.

About half an hour after he ſent for them up, but before Colonel Hammond and Captain Baſket could be admitted to kiſs his hand, taking Sir John Berkley aſide, he ſaid to him, "Sir John, I "hope you are not ſo paſſionate as Jack Aſh-"burnham, do you think you have followed my "directions?" to which he replied, "no in-"deed: but it is not my fault, as Mr. Aſhburn-"ham can tell you, if he pleaſe."

His majeſty finding it was now too late to take other meaſures, received Colonel Hammond chearfully, who again, ſays Mr. Ludlow, having repeated to him what he had promiſed before, conducted them over to Cowes. The following morning his majeſty went with the governor to Cariſbrook.

In their way to that place many of the gentlemen, knowing of the approach of their ſovereign, ſtrove with eager zeal to pay their dutiful reſpects to him; and aſſured his majeſty that the whole iſland was devoted to him except the governors of the caſtles, and the officers under Colonel Hammond.

They alſo, ſpeaking of him, ſaid, "he might "eaſily be gained over to his majeſty's intereſt; "but if he ſhould prove diſloyal, nothing could "be more eaſy than to bring him to ſubmiſſion; "for," ſaid they "the caſtle being full day and "night of thoſe who were attached to the royal "intereſt, and that the king might uſe his own "time of quitting the Iſle of Wight, having "had liberty granted him of riding in the coun-"try every day."

A ray of hope therefore beamed forth upon the king and his confidential friends, and alſo upon ſuch who were in his intereſt; and his majeſty and Mr. Aſhburnham applied themſelves to the governor, with ſuch good ſucceſs, that he and thoſe with him were deſirous only of having a meſſage ſent by the king to both houſes of parliament, acquainting them how deſirous he was

of peace; and with which requeſt the unfortunate ſovereign complied.

There has ever been a myſtery in this unaccountable buſineſs, that has never been unravelled; and yet no treachery has been fixed upon theſe two confidential ſervants: it may not be impoſſible, but that Cromwell, who planned the eſcape might have alſo in an artful manner hinted the ſecret wiſhes of both himſelf and his relation, the governor, to ſerve his majeſty, if he was once out of the immediate care and controul of the army, and the parliament; this is but conjecture: their conduct muſt have been owing to ſome peculiar perſuaſion of Hammond's devotion to his majeſty, more than what they could preſume upon from his being the nephew of the pious Dr. Hammond; eſpecially as the Colonel was more under the command of his other uncle, and himſelf bore arms on the parliament ſide.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation of the parliament and army at the news of loſing the rich pledge, through whom each hoped to ultimately be the predominent power in the ſtate, by obtaining from him a ratification of their demands; unſpeakable therefore was their joy when Hammond wrote a dutiful letter to the parliament, acquainting them what had happened, and of his having removed the king, by his own deſire into the Iſle of Wight.

As to Cromwell he expreſſed more pleaſure than ſurprize, exulting no doubt in the ſucceſs of his deep-laid ſcheme. He wrote to the houſe of com-

mons, that he had received letters from Colonel Hammond relative " to the manner of the " king's coming into the Iſle of Wight and the " company that came with him, that he re- " mained there in the Caſtle of Cariſbrook, till " the pleaſure of the parliament ſhould be " known;" and then aſſured them, that " Co- " lonel Hammond was ſo honeſt a man, and ſo " devoted to their ſervice, that they need have no " jealouſy, that he might be corrupted by any " body:" " and all this relation he made," ſays Lord Clarendon, " with ſo unuſual a gaiety, that " all men concluded that the king was where he " wiſhed he ſhould be."

The king certainly was greatly injured by this flight; he was ſtill a priſoner to the army, and in a detached ſituation where he was intirely at the diſpoſal of any ſecret wickedneſs; beſides he irritated his beſt friends in the army, and reaped no other advantage, than making the parliament more ready to liſten to reaſonable terms, now they ſaw him wholly in the power of the army; for whenever their dangers were great, then they were for a treaty, when there was little cauſe of fear they were extremely unwilling to have any terms offered that could be accepted; and they would have been well contented to have let the king have remained a priſoner during his life; amuſing him, as Elizabeth did Mary Queen of Scots, with hopes of reſtoring him to his throne.

Colonel Hammond, who now had this richeſt jewel in his hands, if he had poſſeſſed a loyal-

heart, or, what was more to have been expected, had that ambition that a ſoldier generally cheriſhes, who goes into ſuch a war, he might have been the inſtrument, under Providence, of replacing his ſovereign in the legal authority he had been deprived of; his own name would have been handed down with honour, and his deſcendants, with diſtinguiſhed rank, might have ſhone for many centuries the objects of reſpect and favor of grateful princes; but, as he managed his delicate ſituation, it became a miſery to himſelf, and diſgraceful to his memory.

The parliament rewarded the colonel's meſſenger, and diſpatched a letter of thanks for his care, and inſtructions to him to govern himſelf by.

Colonel Hammond was courted, careſſed, feared, and hated, by the king, parliament, and army, and their ſeveral partizans. It was impoſſible to ſatisfy any two of them, but he did not pleaſe any one of them. It is probable that he had wiſdom enough to ſee that the army was all-powerful, and had the abſolute command, not only of the king and parliament, but of the whole kingdom: however, it was in his power to have made a prodigious difference in this reſpect; but fear of diſpleaſing his relations and friends at the head of the army, and perhaps determining to ſtand or fall with the military, might induce him to ſacrifice all to that intereſt.

The army, who ſent a letter full of reſpectful attention to his majeſty, profeſſing their duty to his perſon and family, and regard for regal go-

vernment, had their cabals to treat with the parliament about the ſettlement of the nation; in which the colonel's name was inſerted amongſt the heads of the army: and, in fine, they took every method to win and cajole the king. Hammond ſent a letter to the parliament, through the hands of the general, that he had given orders already not to permit any to come near the king who had been in arms for him; and that he would comply with the other commands that had been given him; but that he had not ſerved their warrant for apprehending Mr. Aſhburnham, Mr. Legge, and Sir John Berkeley; deſiring the ſerjeant's deputy to deſiſt until he had their farther orders: becauſe, if he did, it would be with difficulty he could ſecure the king's perſon, for his majeſty had ſaid, "if theſe gentlemen ſhould "be taken from him, and puniſhed as evil doers "for councelling him not to go out of the king-"dom, but rather to come to this place for the "more conveniency as to settlement of peace; "and for endeavouring it accordingly, in attend-"ing him hither, he cannot but expect to be dealt "with accordingly, his caſe being the ſame. "That theſe gentlemen have engaged their ho-"nours not to depart from him; and having caſt "themſelves upon him, in caſe they ſhould be "removed from thence, it would much reflect "upon him." There is ſomething peculiarly pleaſing in Charles's conduct to his friends; for, after ſacrificing Lord Strafford, which to the laſt

deſervedly lay heavy upon his conſcience, he never could be prevailed upon to deſert them.

The governor now paid the utmoſt attention to his charge, omitting nothing that could prevent an eſcape, and this the rather as his majeſty had withdrawn himſelf from reſtraint before. He had, previous to the meſſage he had laſt ſent to the parliament, called the gentry of the Iſle of Wight, who had expreſſed their readineſs to preſerve the king's perſon, and to obey the authority of parliament: at the ſame time he gave peremptory orders to reſtrain any from leaving or entering the Iſle without paſſes, or being examined by himſelf.

When the treaty was broken off with the king, he was ordered by parliament to be particularly careful of the ſecurity of the monarch; the general alſo ſent him the ſame meſſage. This made him redouble his vigilance, and treat the royal priſoner with greater ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, becauſe he ſeemed abandoned by both the two houſes and the army, no more addreſſes being allowed to be ſent to him.

It became very neceſſary for him to act with great caution, if he determined to detain the king; for the people of the Iſle, notwithſtanding what they had profeſſed to him, ſhewed ſo marked a deteſtation of the parliament's conduct in breaking off the treaty, that for two days there was an open inſurrection throughout it; but, like all injudicious matters of this nature, it only injured thoſe whom it was meant to ſerve.

His Majeſty's guard was doubled, his friends denied all acceſs, the whole Iſle put in the beſt ſtate of defence, all the ſupernumeraries removed from the caſtle of Cariſbrook, and ſhips were ſtationed to prevent any others coming into the harbours. Sir William Conſtable, Lieutenant-colonels Goffe and Salmon, were ſent to guard the Iſle, and, perhaps, to be a check upon the governor himſelf, if he ſhould waver in his duty to the army. An order was alſo diſpatched to try the revolters in the military by a court martial, the others by a commiſſion of oyer and terminer.

A ſhip had been prepared by Mr. William L'Iſle to tranſport the king out of the Iſle of Wight; happily that gentleman effected his eſcape. This attempt to quit the ſituation in which his ſervants had thrown him, is a convincing proof that his majeſty looked upon himſelf as loſt, if he could not get out of the governor's hands.

Hammond now acted the part of a jailer: every day ſome privilege was abridged, and the king feared he ſhould loſe Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond, who were great comforts to him in his afflictions; and though the latter was uncle to the governor, yet he paid no manner of attention to his ſentiments; and the parliament having voted that he and Sir William Conſtable ſhould have power to place or diſplace ſuch attendants as they thought proper, it was extraordinary they were not ſent away with the foremoſt.

The royal ſufferer at length, irritated beyond his

patience, addreſſing him, aſked, "why he had "given order for diſmiſſing his ſervants; and "whether it ſtood with the engagement to them, "who had ſo freely caſt themſelves upon him, "and with his honour and honeſty?"

To whom the governor replied, "that his ho-"nour and honeſty were, in the firſt place, to "them that employed him; and, next, that he "thought the king could not but confeſs that he "had done more, as things ſtood, for him than "he himſelf could have expected."

To this his majeſty aſked, "Do the commiſ-"ſioners know of this order?" He replied, "No." "Then," ſaid the king, "by what "authority do you do it?" "By the authority of "both houſes of parliament; and which, I ſup-"poſe your majeſty is not ignorant of the cauſe of "its being done." The ſovereign profeſſing the contrary, he concluded the altercation by ſaying, "that I plainly ſee your majeſty is actuated by other "councels than ſtand with the good of this king-"dom." Meaning, I preſume, that if he could eſcape from the power of both the parliament and the army, he certainly would. The one wiſhing to uſurp his authority, and keep his perſon as a pledge for it; the other, equally deſirous of rule, would deſtroy him, the better to eſtabliſh their power.

The parliament, who had been laviſh to profuſion in their own expences, and in their grants to each other, now meanly ordered a retrenchment ſtill farther, in the already-ſmall eſtabliſh-

ment of the king, appointing only eight perſons, until the general ſhould fix upon others to his ſatisfaction; but theſe were not to exceed thirty; and all the old faithful ſervants of his were diſmiſſed in February, 1647. But the parliament allowed one thouſand pounds for the repairs of Cariſbrook Caſtle, where he remained in confinement, more to make it a place of greater ſtrength than to accommodate the unhappy ſovereign, who often wanted ſuitable linen for his perſon.

Every month brought ſome freſh mortification to the dethroned monarch; yet, proſcribed as loyalty was, it would ſtill manifeſt itſelf; for little papers were conſtantly thrown over the wall where his majeſty uſed to walk, in which ſuch information was conveyed that would either ſerve or pleaſe; and ſometimes letters were conveyed to him, notwithſtanding the utmoſt vigilance of this Argus of a governor; but every inſtance of ſuch kinds of attentive duty ſhewn the illuſtrious captive, if diſcovered, brought down ſtill greater ſeverities.

The temper of the governor was ſeen by this circumſtance, and ſtill more, that of the parliament and the army. Suſpecting Major Rolfe of a deſign againſt his life, he complained, and the major was ſent to priſon; but the grand jury were ſo ſelected by the governor, at the deſire of thoſe in power of the civil and military departments, that the bill was thrown out as malicious. At

the ſame time, one was found againſt Captain Burleigh for beating a drum as a ſignal to attempt reſcuing the king, and he was found guilty, and executed as a traitor; whilſt Rolfe was publicly honoured, and pecuniarily rewarded: this needs no farther comment.

Whitlock writes, that the king "declared to "his friends, that the governor was a man of "honour and truſt, and had carried himſelf civilly and reſpectfully to him; that Oſborne had "unjuſtly and ungratefully aſperſed the governor; and, as touching the preſervation of his "perſon from poiſon, or any ſuch horrid deſign, "he was ſo confident of his honeſty and faithfulneſs, that he thought himſelf as ſafe in his "hands as if he were in the cuſtody of his own "ſon." This ill accords with what the king told Sir Philip Warwick, a writer of great veracity, and much in his majeſty's confidence, that "the governor was grown ſuch a rogue, that "he could not be in worſe hands;" and in June, 1648, Charles attempted to eſcape from Cariſbrook; but, after ſeveral ineffectual efforts to get through the iron bars of the window of his bed-chamber, he was obliged to deſiſt. Had the bars been ſome little farther apart, he would have got through, and then he might ſoon have reached a place of ſafety, becauſe every thing had been prepared for his advantage with the greateſt care.

His majeſty was ſtill farther flattered with be-

ing ſet at liberty from Hammond's care, as it was the intention of the parliament to permit him to go to Windſor to attend another treaty; but changing their deſign, they ordered that it ſhould be held again at Newport, in the Iſle of Wight.

The governor received particular inſtructions for his conduct during this treaty, allowing him to give his majeſty many of thoſe privileges he had long been deprived of; but they were conditionally, that he would "give his royal word not "to go out of the iſland during the treaty, nor "twenty days after, without the advice of both "houſes of parliament;" and as the king was permitted to go at large in the iſland, fearing an eſcape, the governor aſked, and obtained an addition of horſe and foot to be ſtationed there; and the parliament granted him an additional ſalary, as his expences would neceſſarily be increaſed. He received the parliament commiſſioners at Cowes, with reſpectful attention, and complimented their arrival with the diſcharge of the ordnance.

The parliament, who had long out-ſhot their policy in not coming to terms with their ſovereign before the army had acquired that ſuperiority and contempt for their authority, as to obey their commands only when it was their intereſt, were prevented obtaining the fruits of all their deſigns by the determination of their real maſters to ſnatch from their hands the royal prey,

juſt at a time when, from their own danger, they began to ſhew a real wiſh to reſtore the monarch to his crown.

It is a very old and a very true obſervation, that there is no friendſhip among the wicked; it is equally ſo, that there is no reliance upon them. This is exemplified in the caſe of this governor, who, contrary to his allegiance, contrary to the regulations the parliament had been pleaſed to preſcribe themſelves, had ever been altogether the moſt devotedly obſervant to the army; yet now was neither confided in, nor truſted by them; for, determined to ſacrifice the king, they feared he would oppoſe the removal of his majeſty from Cariſbrook. The general, therefore, ſent him a letter, dated November the 27th, requiring him to repair to his excellency, at the head-quarters at Windſor; acquainting him at the ſame time, that Colonel Ewers was appointed to take charge of his majeſty's perſon in his abſence.

The houſe of commons, hearing this, voted that he ſhould remain in his truſt, and that the general ſhould be acquainted with their determination; and they ſent letters to the admiral of the fleet, to diſpatch ſome ſhips for the ſecurity of the Iſle of Wight, with an expreſs order to pay obedience to the commands of the governor.

Theſe were only weak efforts to prevent conſequences which all men had long ſeen muſt happen. The army publicly ſpent their time in

prayers, and in privately laughing at the pointleſs weapons of the parliament.

Hammond went to Windſor, and Ewers gained the perſon of the devoted victim. The ſuperceded governor ſent all the correſpondence which had paſſed between him and the general, to the parliament; who, on the 29th, ſent a letter to Fairfax, ſaying, that the inſtructions which Colonel Ewer had received from his excellency, were contrary to their reſolutions, and the orders they had tranſmitted to Colonel Hammond; and that it was their pleaſure that General Fairfax ſhould recal his orders, and permit him to attend his charge in the Iſle of Wight.

This had no other effect, than their ſending, on the following day, Major Cromwell to the parliament, to declare, in the governor's name, that he was ſtill detained at Windſor, and that Colonel Ewer remained at Cariſbrook Caſtle. The houſe of peers ſeemed particularly ſtruck with this poſture of affairs, which muſt, they were convinced, ruin the conſtitution; but it was now out of their power to alter it; for what had they to oppoſe to a victorious ſanguinary army?

The king was ſoon after removed to Hurſt Caſtle, and his ſad cataſtrophe ſoon followed. None more contributed to this than Lieutenant-general Hammond, by the conſtant influence he kept over this his nephew, to keep him ſteady to the intereſt of the army; and, as a prelude to

the king's mock trial, preſenting the "Agree-"ment of the People." As to the governor, he was only the inſtrument in his uncle's hands, who thought he was promoting the cauſe of the military, to which he was devoted; but Cromwell, who guided him, had only his own aggrandiſement in view, and in the end reaped all the advantage of every party, over all of whom he eſtabliſhed a deſpotic tyranny.

It muſt here be obſerved, that no ſooner was the king immolated, than Hammond, who had forfeited the firſt of civil duties to ſerve his employers, was regarded by them with ſcorn and contempt: however dear the treaſon is, the traitor is always deteſted.

There could not be any thing baſer than the conduct of Hammond towards the king, who threw himſelf, by Aſhburnham's means, entirely into his hands. If he would not have given him an aſylum, he ſhould at leaſt have declined taking him under his protection: his duty to the army was not legitimate; that to his ſovereign was undoubtedly ſo. Had he acted wiſely, he ſhould have quietly fortified the Iſle in the beſt poſſible manner, and procured veſſels to lie in the harbours, if neceſſary; he might then have defied every attempt againſt him, eſpecially as the people in the Iſle were confeſſedly loyally devoted to Charles's perſon and juſt rights. The army and parliament then would have ſtrove which ſhould have offered the

beſt terms to his majeſty; the kingdoms would have hailed him the inſtrument, under Providence, of giving domeſtic peace to nations, ſo long imbrued in the blood of their own ſons. He died before the reſtoration: his widow was married to the anceſtor of the Earl of Buckinghamſhire.

The Life of Sir JAMES HARRINGTON, *Knt.*

SIR JAMES HARRINGTON, of Merton, in Oxfordſhire, was knighted by King Charles I. at Whitehall, December 23, 1628. He was of great deſcent, and of ſtill greater abilities, but they always bordered upon the romantic.

He acquired a ſeat in the long parliament, and became one of the committee for Middleſex; his ſentiments of goverment always leaned to a republican ſyſtem, but he did not avow them in King Charles the Iſt's life-time. In the year 1647 he was appointed one of the commiſſioners to receive his majeſty at Holdenby, in the room of Sir William Airmine, Bart. who had declined that office.

Sir James was named one of the judges of his ill-fated ſovereign; compaſſion, or ſome other motive, prevented his attending more than one day, the 23d of January, but then he went both to the Painted Chamber and to Weſtminſter Hall; the ſame motive that kept him from going again, inſtigated him to refuſe ſigning the fatal warrant.

The parliament, in April 1659, gave Sir Edward Harrington, of Rutlandſhire, a relation I preſume of his, the important truſt of having the charge of ſuch of the children of the late king as were in England, with an allowance of three thouthouſand pounds a year for their maintenance; this gentleman was elected to the appointment be-

cauſe he was not a member of parliament, none who were ſo being eligible by a vote of the houſe; but he declined it, and in the following month the care of them was transferred to the Counteſs of Carliſle. From this circumſtance it may be preſumed, that the Harringtons were generally in the parliament intereſt.

An extraordinary occurrence happened to Sir James in July 1649: a woman, for ſome reaſon not aſſigned, gave him moſt groſs abuſe; and he having become a member of parliament, and complaining of the inſult, that immaculate body, who had deſtroyed their ſovereign, diſgraced themſelves by wreaking their vengeance upon this inconſiderable idle perſon, by firſt ſending her to the Marſhalſea, and afterwards to the houſe of correction.

The republicans had a very high opinion of his merit, electing him of the council of ſtate in 1649-50, and in 1653, in which year he was maſter of the mint jointly with Thomas Challoner, Eſq.; but when the government was ſeized by Cromwell, he became very diſcontented; and during his protectorate he wrote his well-known Oceana, to ſet forth the ideas he entertained of a commonwealth, as moſt ſuitable to his ſentiments of perfection. I have, in the life of Mrs. Claypole, Oliver's daughter, mentioned a ſingular anecdote relative to the manuſcript of this work's having been ſeized upon, and by the interference of that lady returned to him.

He ſet himſelf up in Middleſex to oppoſe the protector in the election of ſuch as he wiſhed to

have returned for that county; but his ſucceſs was ſuch as might have been ſuppoſed by any leſs viſionary than himſelf.

At the deſtruction of the protectorial power he ſhone out again in great ſplendour; he was named of the council of ſtate in the year 1659, and alſo of that of the officers, which took the executive government into their hands; and he was appointed one of the nineteen commiſſioners to treat with General Monk on the part of Scotland.

The reſtoration immediately ſucceeding, he fell into great diſgrace, the government was fearful of his enthuſiaſtical projects; to diſgrace him, he was degraded from his knighthood, and was not permitted to receive any benefit from his eſtates, and made liable to any puniſhment that the legiſlature ſhould think proper to inflict upon him.

To ſoften the rigour of his fate, he ſtrove to find amuſement in travel, ſpending much of his time upon the continent.

He married Catherine, daughter of Sir Marmaduke Darrel, of Buckinghamſhire; this lady was greatly admired for her perſonal and mental charms: ſhe was both beautiful and witty. It is remarkable that ſhe rejected his addreſſes when in the bloom of youth, but from prudential motives, gave him her hand when more advanced in life. Such a union was not likely to prove happy; his conſtitution by application to his ſtudies, by a tedious impriſonment, harſh treatment, and, as it was apprehended, the effects of poiſon, was greatly emaciated, nor were his intellects leſs in-

jured; a ſeparation enſued, but it was followed by a reconciliation, and he behaved afterwards with great civilty, if not tenderneſs.

There are three portraits of him, one by Marchi, half-ſheet, metzotinto, from an original picture in the poſſeſſion of John Hudſon, of Beſſingby, in Yorkſhire, Eſq. A ſecond, inſcribed æt. 45, 1654, by Faithorne, 4to. The third by Hollar, from a painting by Sir Peter Lely, 1658, 4to, which has been copied by Vandergucht. He is called eſquire in the firſt and laſt, and it has been ſuppoſed, though erroneouſly, that he was not really a knight.

There is alſo an engraving of "Katherine, wife of Sir James Harrington, by Faithorne, æt. 36, 1654. She was not married to him until after the reſtoration, and therefore Mr. Granger is wrong in giving it to her; it belongs to Catherine, daughter and coheir of Sir Edmund Wright, Lord Mayor of London, who was married to Sir James Harrington, Knight and Baronet.

The Life of THOMAS HARRISON, *Eſq.*

THOMAS HARRISON, Eſq. was a butcher or grazier's ſon: Lord Clarendon ſays he was born near Namptwich in Cheſhire; but in the preface to the trials of the regicides, it is ſaid he owed his birth to Newcaſtle-under-Line in the county of Stafford, and I am inclined to think that was his native place.

After he had received ſome grammar learning, he was ſent to a gentleman of the name of Hoſelker, an attorney in good eſtimation in Clifford's Inn, who had an employment under the king, and, Lord Clarendon ſays, diſcharged his duty faithfully.

Politics engaged every mind at this momentous period, and young Harriſon much diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his energy; as ſoon as he had ſerved his clerkſhip, he joined the company of the ſtudents of the law, who under the command of Sir Philip Stapylton, became a guard to the Earl of Eſſex, the parliament general.

He ſoon after ſerved as a regular ſoldier in the army raiſed to oppoſe the king, as a cornet, and by his ſobriety and ſtrict attention to his new ſituation, he roſe to have a commiſſion; but he attracted no particular notice until the army was new modelled.

At the ſurrender of the old palace of Woodſtock in the year 1646, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners to receive it: at that time he

was a major. He got ſo far into the good opinion of Colonel Sydney, Lord Liſle's ſon, that he patronized him, as a good ſoldier; and at his requeſt in January 1646-7 the commons voted that he ſhould accompany that gentleman thither, and his conduct was ſo meritorious, that when Lord Liſle and Sir John Temple reported the ſtate of that kingdom, the houſe included him and Colonel Sydney in their thanks, when they gave it that nobleman and his colleague.

He was raiſed to the rank of Colonel ſoon after his return, and became ſo conſpicuous a character, that he was named one of the commiſſioners of the army appointed to treat with thoſe deputed by the parliament, relative to a good underſtanding between them.

His regiment was one of thoſe which in November following ſhewed an inclination to mutiny, on account of that fanatic ſpirit which their commander was afterwards ſo diſtinguiſhed for, but which at this time he did not dare to openly avow; he had ſo great an intereſt in the army, that he procured the pardon of his troop which they ſubmiſſively aſked; and in the following year they ſhewed their gratitude by performing gallant ſervice, at the battle of Preſton, in Lancaſhire, where the Duke of Hamilton was defeated.

When the junto in the army determined to publicly deſtroy the king, he was fixed upon by them to bring the victim up to Windſor, their head quarters. He went to Hurſt Caſtle with a ſtrong party of horſe, and ſhewing his commiſ-

ſion to Colonel Ewer, the governor, that gentleman delivered up the miſerable ſovereign into his hands; he received his majeſty with outward reſpect, and uncovered, ſays Lord Clarendon; but others ſay he kept his hat on; but it is of little conſequence, be that circumſtance how it may; it was indeed very immaterial when he was going to conduct his deſtined prey to a ſcaffold*.

He was extremely ſtrict in his attention to every thing that paſſed, and was "not to be approached by any addreſs, anſwering queſtions "in ſhort and few words; and, when importuned, "with rudeneſs."

The king ſtrove to make an effort to eſcape from the deſtruction he ſaw, by requeſting permiſſion to dine at Bagſhot, the little park of which had been the ſpot where his majeſty had uſed to ſpend ſome of his pleaſanteſt hours. To

* Sir Richard Worſley in his hiſtory of the Iſle of Wight has from an authentic MS. given all the tranſactions which happened at Hurſt Caſtle, when Harriſon came to ſeize King Charles; it is too long for this work, or I ſhould have given it. It would melt any heart but that of a ſtern republican to read. Charles could not be prevailed upon by the Duke of Lenox his relation, and other devoted ſervants, to attempt eſcaping, "No" ſaid he, "I "have given my word to the parliament, and I will not break "it;" but when he was taken from under their protection he thought himſelf at liberty to ſave his life if poſſible. The night Harriſon came there was extremely dark and tempeſtuous, the garriſon in the greateſt diſorder, and a veſſel was ſtationed for the king's uſe, ſo that it is far from improbable that had he put himſelf under the care of his grace he might have eſcaped; but Charles never knew the preciſe moment to act in, without which no man can be a politician.

get Harriſon to conſent to his requeſt, he told him that Lord Newburgh, the ranger, knew he deſigned to take his dinner at a lodge there, and that he would ſend a meſſenger to let his lady know, that he certainly would come, as ſhe would be the better pleaſed, as giving her an opportunity of providing a ſuitable table for him, to which the colonel gave his aſſent the preceding night.

This nobleman had always been extremely loyal, and his lady, the widow of Lord Aubigné, ſlain at Edge Hill in Charles's cauſe, was eminently ſo; ſhe had been very near falling a victim to her ſentiments: this dutiful pair had married with his majeſty's approbation; and ever ſince the king had been a priſoner at Hampton Court had contrived means to convey letters to and from Charles and his Queen; and, to crown their fidelity, had ſent by the ſame means they had other letters, one to Hurſt Caſtle to requeſt his majeſty if poſſible to contrive and dine at the lodge at Bagſhot, in his way to Windſor, and to take occaſion if he could, to lame the horſe he rode upon, or to find ſuch fault with the creature's going, that it might afford a plea to take one out of his lordſhip's ſtables to continue his journey upon.

Lord Newburgh was a great admirer of horſes, and had one of the fleeteſt in his ſtud, of any in the kingdom, and it was deſigned that this ſhould be given to his majeſty, that he might, if poſſible, get an opportunity to ſet ſpurs to the animal's ſides, and eſcape by its ſwiftneſs, from the com-

pany that ſurrounded him; and it was rendered the more feaſible, becauſe his majeſty ſo well knew all the intricacies of the moſt obſcure parts of the foreſt, and therefore might convey himſelf to places in view of ſome of his lordſhip's attendants who were to wait with three or four horſes, all famous for their ſpeed.

The Colonel who knew the importance of his commiſſion to the army, and fearing ſome ſcheme was intended to take the king out of his hands, ſent ſome horſe and an officer to ſearch the houſe, and every part of the park, that he might be certain he had nothing to apprehend from a ſurprizal.

His majeſty in his way to Lord Newburgh's conſtantly diſcovered a pretended uneaſineſs at the movements of his horſe, and ſaid "he would "change it and get a better." All things proved unfortunate relative to the attempt meditated, for upon his majeſty's arrival, dinner was prepared, and he was given to underſtand that this fine animal, by a kick of another horſe the preceding day, was rendered lame; and though other horſes were procured, yet from the conſtant vigilance of Harriſon and thoſe with him, all attempts muſt be impoſſible, for he was ſurrounded by one hundred horſemen, all excellently mounted, and every one of his guard armed with a piſtol, which they held with their finger upon the trigger ready at an inſtant's notice to fire; ſo determined was this body of infamous miſcreants not to let their priſoner eſcape the ruin they ſought.

The king after paſſing three or four hours at Bagſhot with every caution that could be deviſed, was obliged to purſue his journey: Harriſon never ſuffering any one to be in the room where he was, unleſs in company with ſix or ſeven ſoldiers, nor would he permit any thing to be ſpoken, unleſs ſo loud that all might hear it.

At quitting the lodge he permitted Lord Newburgh to ride with his majeſty for ſome miles in the foreſt, and had given the king another horſe, as the other had been ſo much complained of; but after his lordſhip had rode ſometime he was required by this ferocious colonel to retire. The king was conveyed by him that night to Windſor, and the next morning to St. James's; though he had been told what public diſgrace was deſigned, and that he was to be led to a mock trial, yet he could not diveſt his mind of ſome ſecret and premature tragedy, and, wholly occupied with ſuch melancholy ideas, he ſaid to the colonel, how odious and wicked ſuch an aſſaſſination and murder would render a man, and that the perſon who undertook it, would never afterwards be ſafe, to which he indignantly replied, "you need "not entertain ſuch imaginations or appre- "henſion, for the parliament had too much "honour and juſtice to cheriſh ſo foul an inten- "tion; for whatever the parliament reſolved to "do, will be very public, and in a way of juſtice, "to which the world will be witneſs; for they "will never endure a thought of ſecret vio- "lence." Yet this declaration, ſignificant as it

was, the king could not be prevailed upon to believe true, he ſtill ſuppoſed his enemies would not dare to perform ſo monſtrous a deed in the open face of day.

Such a ſcene as this, as a prelude to a worſe, is painful to relate, and the mind contemplating it is ſurprized that men could act ſo deliberate a wickedneſs, to promote their own ambition, when its gratification would be ſo extremely dangerous; it is wonderful that compaſſion ſhould be ſo entirely buried in the human breaſt, as not to revive at beholding ſo great a character fallen, and eſpecially when that perſonage was their ſovereign, againſt whoſe life a few years before they would not have ſuffered even their thoughts to have ſtrayed; and as whole nations would execrate the abominable deed, it is extraordinary that fear of ſhame, if not the fear of puniſhment, did not deter them from ſo monſtrous a crime.

To quit ſo melancholy a ſubject, I ſhall only remark, that Harriſon, as one of the king's judges, ſat every day upon the trial except the 13th, 15th, 17th, and 24th of January, in the Painted Chamber, and his hand and ſeal is to the infamous deed to put his majeſty to death.

This man, whoſe origin was ſo mean, and his proſpects ſo low at the commencement of his going to the war, now by a ſtrange turn of affairs, was only leſs in conſequence than Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton; he was a good officer, very reſolute, always collected, and of a mind that ſcorned compaſſion, as unfit for ſuch times.

Biſhop Burnet juſtly ſtiles him, "a fierce and bloody enthuſiaſt;" but one of the greateſt requiſites that he had for pre-eminence was his ſuppoſed gift of expounding the ſcriptures, and wreſting all the prophetic writing from their meaning to ſuit the times; this won greatly in an army of fanatics; even ſenſible well-informed men at that period received pleaſure from ſuch extravagances. Whitlock, who was remarked for underſtanding, ſays that when Cromwell was going as lord lieutenant to Ireland, "three mi-"niſters prayed, and the lieutenant himſelf, and "Goffe, and Harriſon, expounded ſome places of "ſcripture excellently well, and pertinent to the "occaſion:" we muſt ſuppoſe Mr. Whitlock was preſent.

In the year 1650 he was become a major-general, and was ſent to Ireland, and again diſtinguiſhed himſelf; but he came over with Cromwell, and aſſiſted at the famous conſultation with Fairfax, about his tender ſcruples in commanding the army againſt the Scots, who were attempting to re-inſtate King Charles II. upon their throne, and intended to conduct him into England; the parties who held this council were Fairfax, Cromwell, Lambert, and himſelf, in the army, and St. John and Whitlock as lawyers. He had told the lord-general that he was ſatisfied of his faith to the parliament cauſe, and that he was certain the Scotch nation meant to attack them; and concluded the whole by ſaying, "it is indeed, my "lord, the moſt righteous and the moſt glorious

" cauſe that ever any of this nation appeared in ; " and now when we hope that the Lord will give " a glorious iſſue and concluſion to it ; for your " excellency then to give it over will ſadden the " hearts of many of God's people." But this did not ſatisfy the " tender conſcience " of the general, who reſigned the command, which fell into the hands of Cromwell.

He was making a brilliant figure, October 22d, in drawing out the trained bands, and other bodies of men, to the number of eight thouſand, in Hyde Park, where the ſpeaker and the members of parliament met, and were ſaluted in a military manner by them, preparatory to his going into the north with Cromwell to attack the Scots, with a body of horſe and foot which the parliament ſoon after voted to be put under his care. In June he was advanced as far as the extremity of Cumberland, and thence proceeded to Berwick. He ſent the parliament advice that the Scots were advancing into England, and that he had acquainted the commiſſioners of the militia in Lancaſhire, Cumberland, and other counties, to raiſe what forces they could to join him ; and that he had obtained three thouſand horſe, and hoped to prevent the enemy's march into England : concluding his letter with deſiring " ſome proviſion of four or " five hundred godly men for two or three months, " if he can get them mounted." This curious letter is dated in the ſame manner as the modern quakers write, " 7th of the 6 moneth, 1651, at 11 " o'clock, forenoon."

As the Scotch army obtained an entrance into the kingdom, he followed them, and with Lambert ſent a body of troops to Worceſter, fearing the king ſhould make it "a quarter or garriſon." And in the battle fought near that city, in which his majeſty was entirely defeated, he behaved in a manner that gave the greateſt ſatisfaction to the general and the whole army.

This was "a crowning victory" to Cromwell, as he himſelf termed it: and now the army having conquered all oppoſition in the three kingdoms, choſe to reap the entire benefit of it, without even the maſk that they had continued to wear after the death of the king.

A conſultation was held, December 10, 1651, between the heads of the army, the parliament, and the law, what ſettlement was to be had; Cromwell opening the conference with aſking, "That now the old king being dead, and his ſon "being defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a "ſettlement of the nation; and in order thereunto "he had called this meeting, to ſee what was fit "to be done, and to lay their opinion before the "parliament." The ſpeaker complimented Cromwell, and ſaid, "they ſhould be grealy blamed if "they did not take advantage of his victories to "conclude a ſettlement." Harriſon following him, ſaid, "I think that which my lord general "hath propounded, is to adviſe as to a ſettlement "both of our civil and ſpiritual liberties, and ſo "that the mercies which the Lord hath given in "to us may not be caſt away; how this may

" be done is the great queſtion." He acted here merely as the tool of Cromwell, though he was ignorant of it, who only called them together to hear their opinions, that he might the better effect the ambitious project he had long meditated.

His conſequence was augmented by being choſen one of the council of ſtate, ſo that he was every way become one of the heads of the government; and Cromwell, by humouring his diſpoſition, won him entirely to his intereſt; which he the more eaſily did, by convincing him that the aggrandizement of the general was raiſing the conſequence of the army: and inſtilling into him, that the parliament were not ſufficiently ſpiritualized for the great work; and ſhewed to him, what was extremely viſible, indeed, to all, that their firſt care was to enrich themſelves; yet with an admirable dexterity he made the projects he intended appear as if in compliment only to Lambert and him; for when he had reſolved to diſſolve the long parliament, he excuſed it to Quarter-maſter-general Vernon, and no doubt to many others, " that he was puſhed on by the two parties " to do that, the conſideration of the iſſue whereof " made his hair to ſtand an end: but," ſays he, " Lambert's merit is not rewarded as he or others " wiſhed or expected." And then directing his ſpeech towards Harriſon, he ſaid to Vernon, " of " the other, Major-general Harriſon is the chief, " who is an honeſt man, and aims at goods things; " yet from the impatience of his ſpirit will not " wait the Lord's leiſure, but hurries me on to

" that which he and all honeſt men will have " cauſe to repent."

Having directed Harriſon's mind to his purpoſe, he took him with him to the parliament, of which he was a member, accompanied with a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, to effect what he intended; they went, and took different ſides of the houſe; but Harriſon being called, went to Cromwell, who told him that " he thought the parlia- " ment ripe for diſſolution;" to which he replied, " Sir, the work is very great and dangerous; " therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it " before you engage in it." " You ſay well," replied Oliver, and then ſat down for a quarter of an hour; but the queſtion for paſſing the bill relative to ſomething that muſt neceſſarily occaſion their meeting again, enraged him ſo much, that ſpeaking again to Harriſon, he ſaid, " this is the " time, I muſt do it;" when ſuddenly ſtarting up, " he loaded them with the vileſt reproaches, " as not having a heart to do any thing for the " public good, but had eſpouſed the corrupt in- " tereſt of preſbytery and the lawyers, who were " the ſupporters of tyranny and oppreſſion;" accuſing them " of an intention to perpetuate them- " ſelves in power, had they not been forced to the " paſſing this act for their own diſſolution; which, " he affirmed, they deſigned never to obſerve; " and that the Lord had done with them, and had " choſen other inſtruments for the carrying on his " work, that were much more worthy."

The remainder of this extraordinary ſcene was

confuſion; ſometimes Cromwell ſtamping about the room, and behaving as if inſane; treating them either collectively, or individually with contemptuous inſolence: he knew their principles too well to reſpect them, and now he ſeemed reſolved that they ſhould effectually be acquainted with his ſentiments. "Come, come," ſays he, "I will put an end to your prating; you are no "parliament; I will put an end to your ſitting; "call them in; call them in." The ſoldiers entering, all began to be in conſternation; having reviled ſome of the members for their vices, he commanded the mace to be taken away, ſaying, "what ſhall we do with this bauble? here, take "it away."

Harriſon, who ſat quietly near Lenthal the ſpeaker, now thought he ought to aſſiſt; therefore, going up to the ſpeaker, who kept the chair, he told him, that "ſeeing things were reduced to "this paſs, it would not be convenient for you "to remain there." The ſpeaker anſwered, "I "will not come down, unleſs I am forced." "Sir," ſays he, "I will lend you my hand;" and as Ludlow ſays, put his hand in Lenthal's, to conduct him down; but Whitlock, and others, that he took him by the arm, and ſo brought him down, and ſoon turned out all the members that were there, though they were in number from eighty to an hundred; Cromwell having commanded the doors to be locked, they went away to Whitehall; and he thus obtained what he had ſo long aimed at, the ſovereign power.

The friendſhip that had ſo long ſubſiſted between theſe two "mighty men of valour," who had ſo often fought and prayed together, was inſtantly diſſolved; Cromwell regarded him now as his ſubject, and a very dangerous one; Harriſon viewed him as a ſuperior hypocrite to himſelf, who had duped him; his heart ſwelled high for vengeance; but though Cromwell was determined to take his commiſſion from him ſo early as two months after this, yet he carried it fair to him, inviting him to take his ſeat with the aſſembly of officers, and of the council of ſtate; but this was only a ſmothered ſtorm.

For he was reſolved to act in direct oppoſition to Cromwell in all things; he not only ſet himſelf at the head of thoſe who were for a war with Holland, but he even changed his religious principles. Cromwell and he had been the great apoſtles of the independents; he now ſpurned the ſect as not ſufficiently ſpiritualized, and went over to the anabaptiſts, who were then a furious ungovernable ſet of men, and he ſubmitted to a ſubmerſion from them; having thus waſhed off all his religious, as well as political impurities, he became quite a regenerated creature; he was "heated one ſeven times more than he was wont to be;" and he already had acquired no inconſiderable a proportion.

Such a ſect, with ſuch a leader, were extremely dangerous in any ſtate; and Cromwell, who more than any other had known how far ſuch principles and practices would prevail againſt any eſtabliſh-

ment, began to moſt ſeriouſly think of providing againſt the effects of ſuch cauſes; and Harriſon, finding himſelf ſuſpected, determined to quit London, where he was ſo well watched, and carry on his deſign in a leſs open, but not in a leſs decided manner; this brought things to a criſis, for it would have been ill policy to let ſuch a man go at large.

He was therefore ſent for by Cromwell to the council, in December 1655, and aſked to ſubſcribe an engagement not to diſturb the protector's government, but he declined it; Oliver therefore had his commiſſion taken from him, and upbraided him with his former conduct towards him, ſaying, he had coveted his employment when he was ſick in Scotland; and as he was extremely reſolute in his behaviour, he ſent him a priſoner to Cariſbrook Caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, where his murdered maſter had lately experienced ſo many hardſhips: this was a dreadful blow to him and his new friends; for, ſays an intercepted letter, "as Harriſon was the head of the anabaptiſts, it "gave him the greateſt reſpect in the world to "gain this party, who wanted to pull down the "miniſtry and the law; by which the proud fool "grew ſo high, as did his party, that if the new "parliament had been ſuffered to have ſat a week "longer, both the one and the other had been "voted down;" however, when Oliver had ſettled his government, he ſent Major Strange for him, and permitted him to return to his own houſe at Highgate, but ſtill as a priſoner.

At this time he was full of his religious vagaries. Mr. Ludlow called to viſit him, whom he entertained with a diſcourſe upon many prophecies, and their fulfilment at that time; but it did not ſatisfy the Lieutenant-general any more, than the reaſons he aſſigned for aſſiſting in diſſolving the long parliament; as an apology for which he ſaid, "upon their heads be the guilt, who have "made a wrong uſe of it; for my own part, my own "heart was upright and ſincere in the thing;" ſaying alſo, that "he had joined Cromwell, be-"cauſe he pretended to own and favour a ſort of "men who acted upon higher principles than "thoſe of civil liberty."

He had ſome confidence placed in him by the protector, in being appointed Major-general of Wales; but his conduct was ſuch, that it greatly injured the government; for taking to his boſom Vivaſor Powell, a moſt obnoxious anabaptiſt, who was ſo far gone in fanatical madneſs, that he threw all Wales in flames; and, as Harriſon had taken every method of putting the gentry out of all commiſſions, and in their room placing the loweſt of his own party, it made both him and the protector odious; but this was rectified: Powell, after various fruitleſs admonitions, was ſent to priſon, and the commiſſions Harriſon had received were annulled.

In the year 1655 he again fell under Oliver's diſpleaſure, and had been ſent to confinement, to the great unhappineſs of all his ſaints, who wept, prayed, and petitioned, but all in vain.

He remained in priſon from the early part of that year at leaſt, and all the entreaties of his friends were fruitleſs with the protector to diſcharge him, until the beginning of the following one, when he yielded to them; but he changed his mind by the advice of his council, and it was countermanded by this order:

"At the Council at Whitehall,
"Friday, March 7, 1655.

"Ordered,

"That there be a ſtay of the warrants for releaſing from impriſonment Colonel Thomas "Harriſon, Mr. Carew, Mr. Courtney, and Colonel Rich, until further orders.

"W. Jessop, Clerk of the Council."

However, in the next month, he was ſent for to London, and diſcharged; but it was only to put himſelf, and thoſe around him, to new trouble, which ended in ſending him in September, in that year, to Pendennis Caſtle, a priſoner.

Yet he again procured his releaſe; but it appeared now, that he had worked himſelf up to a ſtill greater ſtate of wildneſs and infatuation; in ſober times, it is not eaſy to believe the exceſs to which the paſſions led men: he, joining with Meſſrs. Pheake, Can, and Rogers, met at the houſe of Mr. Daforme in Bartholomew-lane, near the Royal Exchange, where they held their conſultations about an inſurrection; and thought that then was the exact time, becauſe "the three "years and an half were at an end in which the "witneſſes have lain dead, and that there will be

" a reſurrection of them;" and upon this deluſion they reſolved to rebel, and deſtroy all who ſhould oppoſe them. To minds leſs heated, it might, one ſhould have thought, been better to have waited until the witneſſes had actually ariſen from the dead.

It muſt be here remarked, that he had again paſſed through the religious furnace, and became ſtill more purified. The anabaptiſts were now as droſs and not ſilver in his ſight; he left them to join the fifth monarchy-men, who were become the new, and conſequently more violent ſect; and beſides, it claſſed better with his extravagant religious quixotiſm, to ſuppoſe that Chriſt ſhould viſibly appear amongſt and own them for his ſaints on earth. The particulars of this plot, in conſequence of this new change, I have already given in the life of Lord Grey, of Groby; and therefore it ſhall be paſſed over, with obſerving, that in April 1657, he was again, for the extravagance of his conduct, ſent to priſon.

Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of Ireland, writes to Lord Fauconberg, February 10, 1657-8: " I " hear that Harriſon, Carey, Okey, &c. have done " ſome new feats. I hope God will infatuate theſe " men in their further endeavours to diſturb the " peace of theſe nations, as they ſeem already to " be by thoſe their follies, which do ſufficiently " ſhew them to have been but meer pretenders to, " and abuſers of religion; and ſuch whoſe hypo- " criſy the Lord will avenge in his due time." It is incredible to think, that a man once ſo con-

ſiderable in the nation, ſhould ſo entirely loſe himſelf by theſe unaccountable exceſſes, to become the ſcorn and deriſion of the world. He had not been releaſed more than a few weeks, if days, before he was convinced that the fifth monarchy-men had become a very deſpicable party, both in numbers and conſequence; he therefore had reconciled himſelf to his former friends, the anabaptiſts, and had, by a ſecond baptiſm by them, been waſhed from the impurity of his late apoſtacy.

When the long parliament was reſtored, and with it the ſhadow of a commonwealth; and even afterwards, when the army again triumphed over them, he was ſo ſunk in contempt with all the heads of both the parliament and the army, that he was looked upon as a meer cypher.

A new ſcene opened itſelf at the reſtoration. Some ſatisfaction was due for the blood of a monarch, inhumanly ſhed by a baſe faction; and thoſe who had ſpilt it were odious to an extreme that is not to be deſcribed. Of all that were living, he was the moſt ſo: Colonel Bowyer, therefore, at the head of a party of the Staffordſhire militia, ſeized him, April 27, 1660, with the horſes and arms he had provided, which he might have avoided, as he knew what was deſigned againſt him; but he accounted it, he ſaid, an action of deſertion of the cauſe in which he engaged, to leave his houſe, and therefore remained quietly waiting the event.

He was conveyed to the Tower, and thence to

Newgate for his trial, having been abſolutely excepted from pardon by a clauſe in the bill of indemnity. He was indicted as Thomas Harriſon, late of Weſtminſter, in the county of Middleſex, gentleman, and was brought up to the Seſſions-houſe in the Old Bailey, October 10, 1660.

When he was called upon to hold up his hand as a criminal, he declined it at firſt, only ſaying, "I am here; my lord, if you pleaſe, I will ſpeak "a word:" but being told, he muſt firſt comply with the practice of the court, he ſubmitted. On the following day his trial commenced; and, as the other priſoners, Meſſrs. Scroop, Carew, Jones, Clement, and Scot, could not agree about their jury, he was ſeparately tried. The ſame caſt of character that had for ſo long diſgraced him, was now moſt viſibly diſplayed; having challenged thirty-five, the trial commenced. Sir Heneage Finch, the Solicitor-general, and Sir Edward Turner, addreſſed the jury, ſhewing the enormity of the offence of which the priſoner was accuſed; and it was plainly proved that he had ſitten in the court when ſentence was given, and that he had ſigned an inſtrument for convening and ſummoning the high court of juſtice, and ſet his name to the warrant to put his late majeſty to death. When the warrants were ſhewn to him, he owned that he thought the names were of his hand-writing; but ſaid they ſhould not be produced, as they were not records; but when told they were to evince that there was an overt act done, becauſe the indictment expreſſed that he had imagined, compaſſed, and contrived the king's

death, of which theſe were proofs; he anſwered, "I am not come to be denying any thing that in "my own judgment and conſcience I have done "or committed, but rather to bring it forth to "the light."

He defended himſelf exactly as a man of his behaviour might have been expected, as one who certainly had never feared death, and now ſaw that it muſt come upon him; he therefore regarded the opinion of the court the leſs; mercy, he knew, was ſhut out from him, his crimes being too great for pardon.

He told them, that the king's death "was not "a thing done in a corner; he believed the ſound "of it had been in moſt nations; that he had "prayed night and day for conviction; and that "he had received rather aſſurances of the juſt-"neſs of what he had done; that *he believed ere "long it would be made known from heaven; there "was more from God than men were aware of;* that "he would not hurt the pooreſt man or woman "that went upon the earth;" but he was ſtopt when he began to reflect upon the activity of ſome upon the bench; then he launched out of the goodneſs of the commiſſions under which he had acted; for inſtead of uſurping an authority, he ſaid "it was rather done in the fear of the "Lord."

The court again interfered; and Lord Finch told him, "he muſt not be ſuffered to run into "theſe damnable excurſions, to make God the "author of the damnable treaſon committed."

Nothing intimidated: he argued then, that he

had not done wrong, for theſe two reaſons: that it was authorized by the parliament, the houſe of commons, to which that court was inferior, and that therefore he was not to be queſtioned for it; hinting at the legality of the act by the fate of King Richard II., and deſired council, as "it "concerned all his countrymen."

The council telling him, "his countrymen "would cry out, and ſhame him," he replied, "May be ſo, my lords; ſome will; but I am "ſure others will not."

The ſolicitor-general urged, that his plea was only, as it really was, one point; that "the com-"mons had the power of bringing a king of "England to condemnation;" but, he told him, "that neither one, or both houſes together, had "any ſuch right; neither was the houſe of com-"mons he pretended to have acted under, an "houſe, nor an eighth part of an houſe of com-"mons."

The lord chief baron ſpoke more fully, and told him of the force that was put upon the houſe of commons, by "purging" it, as they called it, until there were not more than forty or forty-five at moſt; that when the propoſition was but named to the houſe of peers, another branch of the legiſlature, it was ſpurned by them; that even ſome in the commons' houſe gave a negative; and that all were under awe from the army; telling him, his doctrine was ſubverſive of the laws; and therefore, as he had no pretence to urge for ſuch an authority under which he acted, his plea ſhould be

over-ruled; for, ſays his lordſhip, "neither both "houſes of parliament, if they had been there; "nor any ſingle perſon, community; not the "people, either collectively or repreſentatively, "had any colour to have any coercive power "over the king."

Mr. Anneſley, among ſome very pertinent remarks, ſpoke of the violence put upon the houſe, upon himſelf as one of the members, when the treaty was ſeemingly drawing towards a happy concluſion between his majeſty and the parliament; that the houſe of commons never was a court of judicature; it hath no power of life or death; could not even adminiſter an oath; that no act in theſe kingdoms were valid but what had the conſent of all the three branches of the legiſlature, king, lords, and commons.

Mr. afterwards Lord, Hollis ſpoke upon the ſame grounds; concluding with telling him, "Now he "would make God the author of his offence, ſo "likewiſe he would make the people guilty of "his opinion. But," ſays he, "your plea is over-ruled;" to which the court aſſented.

The priſoner then allowed, that what he had ſaid was only one point; and urged, that what had been done, was done in obedience to authority; and if it were but by an order of the houſe of commons, thus under a force, yet this court is not a judge of that force; and ſaid, if it was done by one eſtate of parliament, it was not to be queſtioned.

The court, Mr. Hollis, the council, lord chief

baron, the Judges Mallet, Hide, and Twiſden, the Earl of Mancheſter, Sir William Wild, and the court again, all attempted by the cleareſt reaſoning to ſhew him the folly of his defence; but nothing moved, he replied, " Notwithſtanding " the judgment of ſo many learned ones, that the " kings of England are no ways accountable to " the parliament, the lords and commons in the " beginning of the war having declared the king's " beginning war upon them; the God of Gods," —here he was ſtopped; but continuing, he ſaid, " I would not willingly offend any man, but I " know God is no reſpecter of perſons. His ſet- " ting up his ſtandard againſt the people——". Here he was ſilenced, as not belonging to him to hold ſuch words. " Under favour," ſays he, " this doth belong to me; I would have abhorred " to have brought him to account, had not the " blood of Engliſhmen that had been ſhed---." here he was alſo interrupted; and the council ſaid, he ought to be ſent to Bedlam until he came to the gallows to render an account of his deed; obſerving too, it was in a manner a new impeachment of the king upon the throne to juſtify their treaſons againſt his late majeſty. The Solicitor-general requeſted that the jury might go together upon the evidence.

Sir Edward Turner ſaid, " he had the plague " all over him, and that none ſhould be near " him, but that he ſhould be avoided as an houſe " infected, which had written over it, the Lord " have mercy upon him," and ſo requeſted the

officer might take him away; but the Lord Chief Baron, though he told him, "he had ſpoken "that which is as high a degree of blaſphemy, "next to that againſt God, as he had heard, yet "he would hear any thing he had to offer in ex- "tenuation of his crime; but that he muſt not "purſue the language he had held."

He then ſaid, "I muſt not ſpeak, ſo as to be "pleaſing to men; but if I muſt not have liberty "as an Engliſhman— Here the Court told him that "he had received more liberty than he "was intitled to, that they wiſhed he had made a "better uſe of it, and deſired him to keep to the "buſineſs, and he might ſay what he would."

He then attempted to extenuate his conduct, and particularly what Mr. Nutley had ſworn againſt him; who gave in evidence that whilſt in the coach with his majeſty conveying him from Hurſt Caſtle to Windſor, or from that place to London, the king aſked him, "What do you in- "tend to do with me? whether to murder me or "no?" he told his majeſty, "there was no ſuch "intention as to kill him, we have no ſuch "thoughts; but the Lord hath reſerved you for "a public example of juſtice," and the ſame gentleman alſo ſwore that, "when ſome were "for contracting the impeachment againſt his "ſovereign, he ſaid, Gentlemen, it will be good "for us to *blacken* him, or words to that effect, "but he was ſure the word *blacken* was uſed."

Harriſon, therefore, to ſoften this evidence, ſaid, "My lords, thus; there was a diſcourſe by one

" of the witneſſes that I was at the committee " preparing the charge, and that I ſhould ſay let " us *blacken* him. The thing is utterly untrue; " I abhorred the doing of any thing touching " the blackening of the king. There was a lit- " tle diſcourſe between the king and myſelf. " The king had told me, that he had heard that " I ſhould come privately to the Iſle of Wight " to offer ſome injury to him; but I told him I " abhorred the thought of it. And whereas it is " ſaid that my carriage was hard to him when I " brought him to London; it was not I that " brought him to London; I was commanded " by the general to fetch him from Hurſt Caſtle. " I do not remember any hard carriage towards " him."

The court told him, " there were great con- " tradictions between his aſſertion, and the oaths " of the witneſs, which the jury muſt conſider " of; that if he could ſay nothing more that " tended to his juſtification, they muſt direct the " jury; for the end of his ſpeech was nothing " but to infect the people." To which he ſaid, " You are uncharitable in that." And when re- proved by Juſtice Foſter for ſuch language, he broke out, " the things that has been done, have " been done upon the ſtage, in the ſight of the " ſun." As if wickedneſs, ceaſed to be ſuch, if done openly and daringly.

The court told him that this was only a juſtifi- cation of the fact; and the council ſaid, that " as he had confeſſed the fact, he requeſted the

" jury might receive the charge ;" but the Lord Chief Baron ſtill intreated him not to perſiſt in his conduct, otherwiſe he muſt do it. To which he replied, " My lord, I ſay what I did was by " the ſupreme authority. I have ſaid it before, " and appeal to your own conſciences, that this " court cannot call me to queſtion."

Wearied out with ſuch kind of language, his lordſhip told him " Mr. Harriſon, you have ap- " pealed to our conſciences. We ſhall do that, " which, by the bleſſing of God, ſhall be juſt ; " for which we ſhall anſwer before the tribunal " of God ; pray take heed of an obdurate, hard " heart, and a ſeared conſcience."

He then finally replied, " my lord, I have " been kept ſix months a cloſe priſoner, and " could not prepare myſelf for this trial by coun- " cil. I have got here ſome acts of parliament " of that houſe of commons, which your lord- " ſhips will not own, and the proceedings of " that houſe whoſe authority I did own."

The Lord Chief Baron having told him, that he had ſaid that already, and that if he had never ſo many of that nature, they would not help him, and that he had heard the opinion of that court touching that authority, and therefore charged the jury ; who by their foreman, Sir Thomas Allen, returned a verdict Guilty ; and being aſked whether they all agreed in, they anſwered in the affirmative ; and when he was deſired to ſay what reaſon he could give why judgment ſhould not paſs againſt him to die, according to law, he ſaid,

" I have nothing further to ſay, becauſe the court " have not ſeen meet to hear what was in my " heart to ſpeak; I ſubmit to it."

Judgment, the tremendous judgment denounced againſt ſuch as are guilty of high treaſon, was then pronounced againſt him. The court ſhewed great patience and forbearance, and twice reproved the audience when they openly derided him; and expreſſed the pleaſure they felt at his being brought to juſtice.

The ſheriff ſent three clergymen to him, who endeavoured to bring him to a ſenſe of his enormities; they dwelt upon the death of the king, of Mr. Love's execution, of diſſolving the parliament, of his neglect of divine duty in his family, and that his preſent ſentence was the conſequence of them.

He defended himſelf from any malice to his royal priſoner, by ſaying, " that he was very " tender of the king," who confeſſed that he found him not ſuch a " perſon as he was repre- " ſented to him, when he was brought out of the " Iſle of Wight, and that he had ſome ſkill in " faces, ſo that if he had not ſeen his face before, " he ſhould not have harboured ſuch hard " thoughts againſt him." As to the lawfulneſs of the authority under which he had acted, he abſolutely defended it, ſaying, " the people in the " three kingdoms owned it, foreign nations " owned it." But why then did he deſtroy it? Cromwell was owned by all, yet he never acknowledged him, but as an uſurper. As to Mr.

Love, he ſaid, he was not in the kingdom when he was put to death; which he juſtified, by ſaying, "that if a godly man did ſo tranſgreſs a "righteous law, he ought to ſuffer as another "man."

Relative to his aſſiſting in diſſolving the houſe, he ſaid he had not known Cromwell's intention of doing it, until he went thither with him, that he only handed the ſpeaker out of his chair; yet he vindicated what he had done in it; "taking "the Lord to be his witneſs he did not do it for "any ſelf-end, but in the integrity of his heart "as to the Lord, hoping that God would have "done his work by bringing more worthy per-"ſons upon the ſtage; but when he ſaw Crom-"well and his party ſet themſelves up in their "room, he abhorred them and their ways; that "he had ſuffered ſeverely on account of his ſen-"timents; and therefore his conſcience was free "from all guilt reſpecting what happened about "that matter."

He called upon his ſervant to vindicate him, as to his conduct relative to religion, and not neglecting honouring the Lord's day: and the man bore ample teſtimony to his religious deportment; which, indeed, was a thing of all others, that it might have been thought he was not deficient in—ſuch a religion as it was.

As to his ſuffering for his ſins, that ſeemed to give him no trouble; for, inſtead of ſins, he looked upon himſelf as not only a righteous, but a moſt choſen, ſanctified veſſel; and then, and at his

death, he was all raptures, that he died for Chriſt: and he more than hinted ſeveral times, and, no doubt, had perſuaded himſelf, that God would ſoon raiſe him up again, by a reſurrection from the dead, to glorify him here. In fact, he was all deluſion; ſcorn, contempt, impriſonment, even death itſelf, could not either intimidate or cure him of a furious, ungovernable, fanatic frenzy, that made him, with all his pretences that he would not willingly injure the humbleſt, the moſt dangerous perſon that aroſe, in a time when ſo many abounded: and once this man, who was little leſs than a valiant maniac, was, with three or four exceptions, the moſt powerful man in theſe nations. It was thought, ſays Biſhop Burnet, "that while the army was in doubt whether "it was fitter to kill the king privately, or to "bring him to an open trial, that he offered, if a "private way was agreed on, to be the man who "ſhould do it." Which was the reaſon why he was ſingled out for the firſt to ſuffer, and that without the leaſt mitigation of the ſentence.

He was executed at Charing Croſs, October 13, 1660; and proved his words at that time, "that "death was no more to him than a ruſh." Some ſeeing his hands and legs tremble very much, noticed it; when he aſſured them, it was an infirmity which he had been ſubject to for twelve years, owing to the vaſt quantity of blood he had loſt by wounds in the battles he had fought; and that it had ever ſince thus affected his nerves.

No man in the kingdom was regarded with ſo

much deteſtation as this, by all parties, except the few remaining fanatics, who looked upon him as a ſaint and martyr, and firmly believed to ſee him ariſe,—to ſee, rather, his mangled ſcattered remains re-unite in glory amongſt them: on this account it is that Mr. Cowley, in his Cutter of Coleman Street, makes one of the characters ſay, "we ſhall ſee Major-general Harriſon come in "green ſleeves," (then worn by butchers) "from "the north, upon a ſky-coloured mule;" which ſignifies heavenly inſtruction. In Lord Clarendon's octavo Hiſtory of the Rebellion, is a ſmall portrait of him holding a truncheon.

He had a wife and family whom he left deſtitute; to the former, he ſaid, he left her only a BIBLE!

The Life of EDMOND HARVEY, *Esq.*

EDMOND HARVEY, Esq. was a citizen of London; a silkman, as some say; but as he was a partner with Alderman Sleigh, he probably dealt in many articles of commerce. The parliament in 1645 gave him leave more than once to export great quantities of calves-skins; which might have led one to suppose he had been a skinner.

At the breaking out of the troubles, he took the parliament side in the quarrel, and became a colonel of horse; yet he pursued his business at the same time, chiefly, we may suppose, by means of his partner. In 1643 he, with Lord Grey of Groby, joined the parliament general, the Earl of Essex, before his going down to relieve Gloucester: soon afterwards he and Major-general Skippon had some trivial encounters with his majesty's forces in Northamptonshire; and at the close of this year, he was sent with his regiment of horse to the assistance of Sir William Waller.

He had taken great liberties in his conduct, we must suppose; for, in January 1643-4, there were several petitions against him, particularly one presented by Mr. Squire, concerning three thousand pounds taken from him by the colonel, or some of his officers; which was referred to a committee to be examined.

He was ill enough advised to purchase the manor of Fulham, in Middlesex, in 1647, which belonged to the see of London, and had constantly

done from the time of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. The purchaſe money, including what was given for the leaſehold lands held with it, was 7617l. 8s. 10d. which evinces that he was a perſon of very conſiderable property; ſuch, indeed, that it enabled him to make the epiſcopal palace his reſidence. He likewiſe purchaſed of the family of Nourſe, of Woodeaton, in Oxfordſhire, the leaſe of the great tithes.

The parliament named him one of the commiſſioners to try the king; he ſat with the other judges in the Painted Chamber on January the 8th, 17th, 20th, 22d, 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 27th; and in Weſtminſter Hall the 20th, 22d, 23rd, and 27th days of that month.

But on the laſt day he was extremely diſcontented, and publicly expreſſed it to the commiſſioners; and though he was preſent when judgment was given, yet he did not aſſent to it, as Whitlock, who took notes, remarked; and he could not be prevailed upon to ſign the warrant for execution: of this more will be ſeen at the concluſion of his life.

After this great national calamity, he was highly truſted by the new government, was appointed collector of the cuſtoms of London *; and in 1650 the navy committee having voted the ſum of 100l. out of the new impoſt on coals in the

* As it is allowed that Mr. Edmond Harvey was collector of the cuſtoms, it is evident that the word EDWARD, page 209, Vol. I. of Thurloe's State Papers, ſhould read EDMOND.

port of London to be diſtributed amongſt the poor at Fulham, he and Iſaac Knight, the Vicar, were appointed the diſtributors; and the ſum of 40l. was voted in the ſame manner the following year. He, probably, was a popular character there; for he and Maximilian Bard, Eſq. gave 100l. to the poor about 1650.

When Cromwell had ſeated himſelf in the chair of ſtate, he joined his government; and probably as a native, and poſſeſſing a landed intereſt in the county of Suffolk, he had, from the commencement of the troubles, been a committee-man; ſo now he was by the protector appointed one of the commiſſioners for ſecuring the peace of the commonwealth; and he and James Harvey, with others, ſent his highneſs a dutiful addreſs, dated from Bury, November 20, 1655. In which it ſtates, that "the method which had been deviſed, "they thought moſt likely to anſwer the end of "ſecuring the peace of the nation, and that they "were bound to bleſs God, who had moved his "highneſs' and council's heart, to be thus careful "of the ſecurity and eaſe of the good people of "this commonwealth, and of thoſe dear liberties "purchaſed with the price of ſo much precious "blood, and vaſt expence of treaſure; and they "prayed, that as the Lord had been pleaſed to "make uſe of his highneſs as the inſtrument of "their deliverance from that *implacable generation* "of men, ſo he would be pleaſed farther to uſe "his highneſs as the inſtrument of their preſer-"vation and farther reformation."

To ſhew his zeal to his highneſs, he alſo gave him a moſt magnificent entertainment at his *palace* of Fulham; yet he ſoon after was a malcontent: he thought the protector did not ſet about this *farther reformation*; or, what is more probable, there might be much diſpleaſure in his highneſs, from having detected ſome improper conduct in the performance of his place; certain it is, he was committed to the Tower in November 1655, but ſoon releaſed; and though he was returned a member of Oliver's parliament in 1656, he was ſo obnoxious to him, that he was not permitted to ſit in it.

He was in a very uneaſy ſituation ever after. He wiſhed, above all things, to have the republican government irrevocably re-eſtabliſhed, becauſe he was now in diſgrace with the protector; and a return of monarchy, he might naturally ſuppoſe, would deprive him of his epiſcopal eſtates, and even endanger his perſonal ſafety.

At the reſtoration, though he ſurrendered himſelf, he was abſolutely excepted both as to life and property; and October 16, 1660, he was brought to the Seſſions-Houſe in the Old Bailey, and tried for the part he had acted againſt the late king.

When they were going to call witneſſes againſt him, he ſaid, "My lord, according to my duty, "I ſhall ſave this honourable court all their "trouble. I do humbly acknowledge that I was, "and did ſit, in that court; but I did not ſign "and ſeal that warrant." To which the lord chief

baron ſaid, " It is very true, Mr. Harvey." He continued, " I hope your lordſhips, and this ho-
" nourable bench, will give me leave, in that time
" you ſhall appoint, to ſhew you my reaſons that
" I did it, not in malice, and it was an error, not
" of will, but of judgment; what I have to ſay
" will be, though not for the annihilating, yet
" for the extenuation of my crimes." His lord-ſhip then ſaid, " Say now what you will, only
" conſider with yourſelf whether you have not al-
" ready ſpoken as much as you can for the exte-
" nuation of it; ſay what you can farther.—Let
" me ſpeak a word—Go on, Sir."

He then made this defence: " My lords, I do
" humbly conceive, if I had conceived that I had
" then done any thing of treaſon, I would not for
" all the world have been there. I was preſent
" when his majeſty did not own the court, deſir-
" ing that both his houſes might meet, that he
" might have a conference with them for ſettling
" of the peace. My lord, heartily and unfeign-
" edly I did endeavour that that advice might be
" embraced, and that no ſentence might be pro-
" nounced. I was one of thoſe (with ſome
" others) that did ſo far promote it, that that
" which was called the high court of juſtice did
" withdraw to conſider of it, but the major part
" of it did diſſent. But, my lord, I was ſo un-
" happy as to return to the court, though with
" reluctancy; I went with a reſolution not to go
" more to them, nor never did. I was ſummoned
" to come to the court: I did declare I abhorred

" the thing; that my ſoul had reluctancy againſt " it; and I did refuſe any more to come, or to " conſult about any thing that followed, in order " to his majeſty's death, and to ſign and ſeal. " And that I may make it appear to your lord- " ſhips, I pray I may have a witneſs or two ex- " amined."

Lord Chief Baron. " Name them. Did he " ſit upon the day of ſentence?" " Yes," ſaid the counſel, " he followed it."

Mr. Corbet was then examined as a witneſs, who ſaid, " My lord, the atteſtation which I this " day make ſolemnly in the holy fear of Almighty " God, and in the awful reverence of this great " tribunal, hath only this great ſcope, that Co- " lonel Harvey, the priſoner at the bar, upon " that day of ſigning the warrant for that horrid " execution of his moſt excellent majeſty, not in " title only, but in reality; he finding me, as I " was paſſing to the duty of my place in the aſ- " ſembly of divines then ſitting, he ſeized on " me, and deſired privacy of time and place, that " he might diſburden his ſoul and ſpirit unto me; " it was then about nine o'clock in the forenoon, " to the beſt of my remembrance."

" What day, I beſeech you?" ſaid the lord chief baron. Corbet replied, " To the beſt of my " remembrance, upon the Monday. " Sir," ſays he, " I deſire to make known unto you the " deep horror that ſits upon my ſpirit, the ſad- " neſs and grief, above all expreſſions, that my " preſent caſe has caſt me into; I have endea-

" voured Sir," ſays he, " in the ſight of God, all " that I poſſibly could, to divert them from the " ſentence. I could not prevail." " Sir," ſays he, " I have been this morning ſolicited with " very much earneſtneſs, that I would go and " ſign and ſeal, and order that wicked execution, " which my ſoul abhors; and, Sir, that I might " be removed and withdrawn from all tempta- " tions and ſolicitations of ſuch a wicked fact, I " beſeech you ſpare me your time this day, which " I did, in the preſence of another divine, till " four o'clock that afternoon, and then I parted " and went to Weſtminſter, to ſign and aſſiſt that " which I did apprehend my bounden duty, the " vindication of the aſſembly of divines, wherein " we did teſtify, that it was far from our thoughts " to adviſe the parliament to any ſuch unheard- " of unnatural act."

Counſel. " We do admit, that after he ſat, and " ſentence paſſed, that he did not ſign." Mr. Harvey then ſaid, " Be pleaſed to call one Mr. " Thomas Langham; he hath heard me often de- " clare againſt the act."

The lord chief baron. " What do you ſay, Mr. " Langham, as to this buſineſs?

Who replied, " Sir, about the time that his " majeſty was executed in 1648, I was then ſer- " vant to alderman Sleigh, who was formerly " partner with this colonel, and he frequently " came to alderman Sleigh's every night; and the " alderman having ſome buſineſs with him, would " aſk him what news there was at the high court

" of juſtice; he uſually told him the paſſes upon " any day; the alderman aſked him, if ſo be, he " thought his majeſty might eſcape? He told " them this, that he would do what lay in his " power that he might, that he might not come " to his ſentence paſſed; upon Saturday, being " alſo there, he told them this, that he had done " what lay in his power to hinder the ſentence, " but could not attain his deſign; but he was re- " ſolved he would never ſign nor ſeal to his ma- " jeſty's death, for it was utterly againſt his " judgment."

Mr. Harvey then ſaid, " There is another, my " lord, and but one more; that is George Lang- " ham." To which the lord chief baron replied, " To what purpoſe? this is believed." Mr. Harvey cloſed his defence by ſaying, " I ſhall " only crave and ſupplicate this favour of this " honourable bench, that this honourable bench " will be pleaſed on my behalf, ſince I have en- " deavoured it two months before, to preſent my " humble petition to his ſacred majeſty, and in- " tercede for mercy and favour on my behalf; and " myſelf, my wife, and thirteen children, ſhall " humbly pray."

The court humanely received the petition, and promiſed to preſent it to his majeſty; and the " judge ſaid to the jury in his charge, " Mr. Har- " vey hath pleaded ſeveral matters, which are not " proper for you, expreſſing his ſorrow and pe- " nitence; we ſhall not trouble you with that, " becauſe they are for the conſideration of ano-

" ther court; we ought all to have a tender com-
" paſſion; ought to be ſorry with, and for them
" that are ſorrowful."

After conviction, being aſked what he had to ſay, why ſentence ſhould not paſs, he replied, " My lord, I have no more than what I have " ſaid." This humility ſaved his life, but he was impriſoned ſo long as he lived.

It was a melancholy thing to reflect that a gentleman, who if he had purſued the line of his duty might have died in the boſom of his family, and in the eſteem of his friends; but going to the moſt criminal lengths in politics, he brought ſhame upon himſelf, ruin to his family, and grief to his friends.

Fulham returned to its epiſcopal owner; the leaſe of the great tythes became veſted in the crown, and were granted by King Charles II. in 1664, to Anthony Eyre, Eſq. in conſideration of the ſervices he had rendered his royal father. The other property of this regicide we muſt ſuppoſe was all diſſipated and loſt, and his family reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs and poverty.

The Life of Sir ARTHUR HESELRIGGE, *Bart.*

Sir Arthur Heselrigge, of Noſeley, in Leiceſterſhire, Baronet, was one of the moſt determined enemies of the king, and of monarchy, of any who entered into the parliament's ſervice, yet he would not be concerned in the king's trial, though named one of his judges.

He was one of the pillars of the commonwealth, hated, deſpiſed, and plotted againſt the elder protector, aſſiſted in ruining the younger one; was the moſt violent man in the army, and finally was deluded by General Monk, who after deceiving him, as long as it was neceſſary, ſent him to the Tower.

He was then adjudged ſo dangerous a perſon by government, that he was voted to be excepted out of the act of indemnity, and would have been put to death if General Monk had not, upon being called upon, declared that he had promiſed he ſhould not loſe his life if he would remain quiet.

King Charles II. is ſaid by Ludlow to have rejoiced when the lords excepted him. He was undoubtedly a very obnoxious character; at that time a very dangerous one. He died in the Tower of a fever contracted by grief, in 1660, or 1661. The great prelatical eſtates he had acquired were forfeited to the ſees from which he had obtained them.

For more particulars of this gentleman's life, I muſt refer the reader to the Cromwell memoirs, where he will find Sir Arthur's life at length amongſt the protector Oliver's lords.

Sir Arthur is the anceſtor of the preſent baronet, Sir Robert Heſelrigge, of Noſeley.

The Life of WILLIAM HEVENINGHAM, *Esq.*

WILLIAM HEVENINGHAM, Esq. was a gentleman of very great descent, his family having resided at a place of that name, for many ages in the county of Suffolk; I suppose he was son of Sir Arthur Heveningham, Knt. Seized with the frenzy of the day he opposed the court, and went into all the extravagance of the enemies of it; the parliament made him one of their committee for the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. He was one of the representatives for Stockbridge in Hants, in the ever memorable long parliament.

The faction put his name amongst the king's judges, and he was culpable enough to constantly attend as one of the commissioners in the high court of justice, except in the Painted Chamber on the 10th, 12th, 15th, 18th, 20th 25th, and 29th. He was in Westminster Hall every day, gave his assent to the infamous sentence, but refused to sign and seal the warrant.

The parliament in gratitude to him, put his name in the council of state in 1649 and 1650, which appears all the employment or advantages he derived from his base compliances; his fortune was too large to make him subservient to the party.

At the restoration he surrendered himself to a serjeant at arms; but was excepted for life and estate in the clause of the bill of indemnity.

October 10, 1660, he was arraigned at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey; and on the 16th was tried: when called upon, he ſaid, "My lord, in "1648 we were under a force, under the tyranny "of an army; they were our maſters; for a ma- "licious and traitorous heart I had not. I do ab- "ſolutely deny ſigning the warrant for ſummon- "ing the court, and alſo for execution of the "king; at the time of ſealing I had that cou- "rage and boldneſs, that I proteſted againſt "it."

The council ſaying, "we do not queſtion him "for that, but ſitting in the high court of juſ- "tice, and that upon the day of ſentence; do "you deny that?" he replied, "my lord, I "cannot ſay poſitively;" but ſays the council, "if you deny the matter of fact, it muſt be "proved," he ſaid, "I cannot ſay poſitively, "but it may be I might." "Either ſay po- "ſitively you did" re-joined the council, "or "elſe let the witneſſes be called."

He then ſaid, "truly my lord, I think I did, "but my after actions—The Lord Chief Baron ſtopping him ſaid, "Mr. Heveningham, that "ſhall be conſidered." The council however interpoſed, and told his lordſhip that, "to ſit "upon the day of ſentence was high treaſon in "itſelf, and is an evidence of compaſſing and "imagining the king's death."

Finding that he could not avail himſelf of his plea, he told the judge, "I ſhall lay hold of the "declaration. I came in upon the declaration;

" I pray your lordſhip to intercede for me to " the king, and both houſes of parliament; I " pray the mercy of this court."

The jury returning a verdict of " Guilty," and the council aſking him if he had any thing more to ſay why ſentence ſhould not be paſſed upon him, he replied, " My lords, I have nothing " more to ſay, than I have ſaid formerly, only I " plead the benefit of the proclamation, and caſt " myſelf upon the mercy of our moſt gracious " ſovereign, and deſire your lordſhips to be me- " diators on my behalf."

The Lord Chief Baron addreſſing him, ſaid, " by the act of indemnity of which you claim " the benefit, and we ought to take notice of it, " we are to proceed to judgment, but no execu- " tion of the judgment is to be, until another " act of parliament by the conſent of the king, " it ſhall be ordered; and therefore I need not " ſpeak any more of that, or any exhortations to " prepare yourſelf for death; our work is only to " give judgment;" which was accordingly done.

This gentleman was not executed, and his majeſty compaſſionating a family which had for its loyalty been often diſtinguiſhed, and from whom had deſcended ſo many knights; reſtored to his ſon the ancient eſtate and ſeat of Heveningham, who was,

William Heveningham of Heveningham, Eſq.; he married Mary, daughter of John, Earl of Dover, by whom he had Sir William Heveningham; and Abigail, married to John Newton, Eſq.

ſon and heir of Sir John Newton of Barro Court, in Glouceſterſhire, Bart.

The family became extinct, I think, in the grand ſon of the regicide, Henry Heveningham of Heveningham, Eſq. lieutenant of the band of gentlemen penſioners, who married Frances, daughter of William, Lord Willoughby of Parham, widow of Sir John Harper of Swarkeſton in Derbyſhire, Knt. and alſo widow and relict of Henry, Earl of Bellamont of the kingdom of Ireland. Mr. Gough, in his additions to Suffolk in the Britannia, ſays, that there is a tradition that the family were never fortunate after the concern of one of them in King Charles I.'s death. Heveningham is now the ſeat of the Vannecks, and is one of the fineſt in the county of Suffolk.

The Life of JOHN HEWSON, *Esq.*

JOHN HEWSON, Esq. was a soldier of fortune, and rose from the lowest situation, having originally, it is thought, been a cobler; at the time of the death of King Charles I. he was a colonel.

Such a man was a fit instrument for the base purposes he was designed for; and being named one of the commissioners, he sat in that most hateful tribunal every day, except January the 13th, and he signed the warrant to complete the wickedness.

He joined in every form of government, and was knighted, and made one of Oliver the protector's lords; his chief fort lay in a military line, though he also acted often in a civil one. Amongst Oliver's lords I have given farther particulars of this adventurer, who was fortunate in escaping from the kingdom at the restoration, which he survived but a little time, dying at Amsterdam in 1662; had he not fled, nothing could have saved him, as he had been peculiarly busy in the black deed.

We do not wonder at men who had rose from such mean beginnings, without education or connections, and unused to reflect upon consequences, doing what their superior officers urge; but that gentlemen of rank, of fortune, who have long been protected by a regular government, like the person last named, is wonderful.

This man had nothing to lose; he could not be

degraded by a lower ſphere, than that from which he had emerged; and, except for crimes, he could not go into greater contempt; but even as a ſoldier of fortune he would have found infinite advantage to have ſtopped ſhort in his career, for then, by that wiſe lenity the king ſhewed, he would have enjoyed the fruits of his valour, though he had ſo often fought in a wrong cauſe.

I cannot but ſubjoin an extract from a letter of Henry Cromwell to ſecretary Thurloe, dated December 19, 1655; which ſhews how troubleſome and worthleſs Hewſon was, as well as his ſons; and becauſe it places that very good man, Henry Cromwell, in one of his moſt amiable points of view. After ſaying that he had endeavoured to carry himſelf with moderation to all, he was not a little ſurpriſed at Colonel Hewſon's having ſent a complaint againſt him to his highneſs the protector, which every ſober perſon knew to be untrue, and that he had owned that he took it upon the information of others. He ſays, "I muſt "needs confeſs I am not a little amazed hereat, "and have noethinge to quiett my ſpiritt, but "through grace, the integritie of my owne harte "in my actions. As a man I could ſitt downe "under my diſcouragements, (which are not a "few); but my confidence is in the Lord, whoe "will in due time bringe forth the hidden things "of darkneſs to light, and will make manifeſt the "moſt ſecrett deſignes of men. If Colonel Hew-"ſon muſt be believed (with his three anabaptiſt

" ſons) I muſt be made a liar, if not worſe; " what hath made all the ſober godly people in " Ireland afraide of that intereſt, and groane " under their oppreſſion; ſome of the incloſed " will make it appear, as alſo that I ame not " without ane intereſt in godly men, whoe not " believe of me, as Colonel Hewſon would ſug- " geſt. The bearer will tell you of any actings " heer, and what my camp and councells have " bin, and whither they have tended. I have " nothing in my ey of ſelfe: its the honour of " God, the ſafety of his highneſs, good of ſober " people I aime at. Let his highneſs doe with " me as he pleaſe, ſend me into a Welch cottage, " if it be for his ſervice. If the bearer doe not " meet with ill company by the way (though " judged their friend having been courted and con- " gratulated) I doe not at all fear his relation of " things heer, wherewith he is thoroughly ac- " quainted. I deſire you will gett ſpeedy acceſs " to his highneſs, before he getts to Wallingford " Houſe."

A century and a half has fixed the character of Henry Cromwell in the juſteſt eſtimation, the exact oppoſite to Hewſon's. What became of his family is unknown; the poſterity of theſe men ſo highly guilty having ever been aſhamed of owning from whom they deſcend.

The Life of ROGER HILL, *Esq.*

Roger Hill, Esq. was a gentleman descended from a very ancient family in the county of Somerset, probably of those of Pitmister. He was returned a member of the long parliament for the borough of Bridport, in Dorsetshire, as he had been for that of Taunton in the preceding one; and upon the commencement of the civil war, the parliament appointed him one of their committee in his own county of Somerset.

He was too good a lawyer, and if not too honest a man, to accept the office of one of his majesty's judges, or to take any part in that national misfortune, the king's death.

Oliver made him one of his judges, after calling him to the coif, though he is said to have been a barrister of but little practice and of small estate; it is to be remarked, that he was only called gentleman in the return of the writ, appointing him a member of parliament.

It is certain, however, that if he did not possess much paternal property, he acquired no inconsiderable portion of wealth; for he purchased the Bishop of Winchester's manor of Taunton-Dean, the best, it is supposed, in England; and if the lives had been suffered to run out, would have produced, it was thought, 12,000l. per annum; but that I think too incredible for belief. He was a commissioner of Haberdashers' Hall.

The reſtoration muſt have been to him a very mortifying event, levelling him again to, at leaſt, his original ſituation.

We have a letter from him to Thurloe, the ſecretary, dated Bury, April 11, 1655, relative to the unfortunate perſons to be tried for an attempt to reſtore the exiled king. His conduct ſeems beneath the dignity of a judge, being rather that of an informer: this gives us a very mean opinion of his worth.

The Life of CORNELIUS HOLLAND, *Esq.*

CORNELIUS HOLLAND, Esq. was a native of Colchester, in the county of Essex: his father was so unfortunate as to die in the Fleet, where he had been imprisoned for debt. He was originally nothing more than a servant to Sir Henry Vane, where, it is not improbable, he might imbibe those pernicious principles that brought him to a very general disgrace; for leaving his master, he passed into the service of the Prince of Wales; in an office, however, very humble in the household, but he rose to be comptroller; and he obtained such favour in the court, by procuring some monopolies, a custom then too prevalent, that by it he became a person of very considerable property. He likewise had an office in the Green-cloth, where he behaved so ill, that he was deprived of it.

The moment the court were in want of his assistance, he deserted it, refusing to contribute to the expences of the Scotch war in 1639: and procuring a seat in the long parliament, upon a vacancy, for New Windsor, he constantly persisted in the most violent courses, being entirely guided by the opinion of his old master, Sir Henry Vane.

In the year 1646 he was named a commissioner, on the part of England, in the treaty for the conservation of peace with Scotland; and as a deserter from the court and person of his sovereign,

and in compenſation for the loſſes he had ſuffered on that account, the parliament was extremely laviſh to him, both before and after the king's death, in which he took particular pleaſure, we may ſuppoſe, by his conſtant attendance upon that iniquitous proceeding; for having been named one of the commiſſioners, he ſat every day in Weſtminſter Hall, aſſiſted in giving judgement: nor was he abſent from the Painted Chamber but upon the twelfth of January; his name, however, is not to the warrant for execution.

Upon the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth, he was made one of the council of ſtate in 1649, and again in 1650.

Few, from ſo ſmall a beginning, obtained ſuch conſiderable grants as Mr. Holland; he ſuperceded the Counteſs of Dorſet in the care and management of the houſehold of the children of the late king: this poſt he held three or four years.

He had likewiſe a grant of paſtures belonging to the crown in Buckinghamſhire, at a place called Creſslow, in the vale of Ayleſbury, for twenty-one years, worth to him, ſays Lord Hollis, *de claro*, ſome fifteen or ſixteen hundred pounds a year; others, worth from one thouſand eight hundred pounds, to two thouſand pounds; and this only at the trivial rent of twenty pounds a year, which he got diſcounted.

He reſided in Somerſet Houſe for ſome time with his family; and he was keeper of Richmond Palace, which he uſed as a country retreat. He

was commiſſary for the garriſons at Whitehall and the Mewes, and had an office in the Mint.

He, no doubt, hated Cromwell, who muſt have had a particular contempt for him; yet having too much to loſe, he ſubmitted to his government. In 1655 he was one of the commiſſioners for the county of Berks, appointed to put in execution the orders of his highneſs and the council, for ſecuring the peace of the commonwealth. He, no doubt, rejoiced in the return of the long parliament: the council of officers in October 1659 put him, with others who were in the army, in truſt to govern the public affairs, until ſome more permanent means could be deviſed.

At the reſtoration he was excepted abſolutely, both as to life and eſtate; and we may ſuppoſe that had he been taken, he would have expiated his treaſonable ingratitude by a public execution.

Happily for himſelf, he effected his eſcape; the manner was thus: going to his native place, Colcheſter, that he might get privately away the firſt opportunity, the major of the town being informed that a ſuſpected perſon was lodged at one of the inns, and it being ſuppoſed that he was Major-general Lambert, the houſe was ſearched at four o'clock in the morning, and his horſe ſeized; but he having left it, to receive a ſum of money owing to him by a merchant of that place, who was to ſet out the next morning for London, and having intelligence of what had happened at the inn, was by the favour of his friend conveyed out of the town, effected his eſcape, and ſoon

after got an opportunity to leave the kingdom; when he joined his fellow exiles at Lauſanne, in Switzerland, where he ended his days in univerſal contempt.

He muſt have amaſſed a vaſt fortune, for he gave with one of his daughters, at her marriage, five thouſand pounds; and as he had ten children, had he given them each the ſame, it would prove that he muſt, at leaſt, have been worth fifty thouſand pounds, a ſum of great magnitude in the laſt century. It is probable that had he remained loyal and true to his ſovereign, he never would have acquired ſo much; it is more, that he would have partook in thoſe misfortunes that he was ſo greatly acceſſary in bringing upon his royal maſter; but in the end he would have been rewarded and eſteemed, honoured of all good men: but as it was, he was forſaken by all, but his companions in misfortunes, who ſecretly muſt deteſt him, as worſe than themſelves. The ſplendour in which he had lived at home would make the poverty he was doomed to, in a foreign land, ſtill more irkſome. The miſery and diſgrace he had entailed upon his progeny muſt, to ſo ambitious and avaricious a man, have been a greater evil; but the ſtings of a guilty conſcience, the worſt of all that he could endure.

The Life of Sir THOMAS HONYWOOD, *Knt.*

Sir Thomas Honywood, Knt. was of the family of Charing, in Kent, who, though extremely attached to the parliament intereſt, could not be prevailed upon to commit ſo violent an outrage againſt ſociety as to aſſiſt in deſtroying the king.

This did not injure him, even in the eyes of his own party; he became highly valued, and truſted by the protector Oliver, who created him a lord of his upper houſe, amongſt whom his Life has been given by me, in the *Cromwell Memoirs*; I ſhall therefore only add here, that he ſurvived the reſtoration, and died at a very advanced age, leaving a family.

I cannot but here remark, that as he was a brother-in-law to Sir Henry Vane, it was greatly to his honour that he did not yield to the powerful ſolicitations which muſt have been uſed to make him forfeit every principle of loyalty, of juſtice, and mercy.

The Life of THOMAS HORTON, *Eſq.*

THOMAS HORTON, Eſq. was of the meaneſt extraction, being originally a ſervant and falconer to Sir Arthur Heſelrigge, and, "from a recruit, "fairly perched to a regiment of horſe." He greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in South Wales, in May, 1648, where, at the head of three thouſand horſe and foot, he defeated the royaliſts commanded by Major-general Langhorne, though nearly as ſtrong again in forces; and, to crown the victory, he took the major-general priſoner, with twenty-ſix captains, and an hundred and fifty other officers, and three thouſand Welch, obtaining alſo many colours and arms.

This was ſo important a victory, that the parliament ordered a thankſgiving for it; and they rewarded thoſe who brought the intelligence, giving Colonel Bethel 150l., Captain Mercer 100l., and Captain Wogan received an order to have his arrears audited. As a farther proof of their gratitude, they voted, that the land they had before given to Major-general Langhorne, when he fought in their cauſe, ſhould, now he had borne arms againſt them, with other lands, to the amount of one thouſand pounds a year, belonging to loyaliſts, ſhould be ſold, and the money ariſing from the ſale diſtributed to the colonel, his officers, and ſoldiers.

He was put in the commiſſion of the high

court of juſtice, and ſat every day, except on January the 8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 18th, 20th, 22d, and 23d, in the Painted Chamber; but he attended every day in Weſtminſter Hall, and he ſet his hand and ſeal to the warrant for putting his ſovereign to death.

His regiment, in 1649, was drawn by lot to go into Ireland, and on that occaſion they ſhewed their diſlike to him, petitioning the parliament that they would permit Colonel Marten, or whomſoever elſe the houſe ſhould be pleaſed to fix upon, to be their commander in chief, and that they would pay him; for which they received the thanks of the houſe; though it certainly was highly inexpedient to have encouraged the ſoldiers to make their election of thoſe under whom they might chuſe to ſerve. Soon after, they evinced how little ſuch profeſſions are to be relied upon; for Cromwell being named to the command of the Iriſh army, and appointed lord lieutenant of that kingdom, theſe men refuſed to go with him, and ſoon after diſbanded themſelves. This is the laſt circumſtance that I have ſeen in which this regicide had any concern; only it is evident that he was dead before the reſtoration, when his name was inſerted in the clauſe of the act of indemnity, excepting him as one who was to be adjudged as a traitor, and his lands forfeited to the crown. His origin was mean, his riſe rapid, his career ſhort, and his memory infamous.

The Life of JOHN HUTCHINSON, *Esq.*

JOHN HUTCHINSON, Esq. was eldest son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, of Outhorpe, or Obethorpe, in Nottinghamshire, Knt. Sir Thomas was one of the representatives in the long parliament, for the county of Nottingham, and both father and son were of the parliament-committee for it.

This gentleman drew his sword in the interest of the parliament, and entered very deeply into their designs from the commencement of the civil war, and rose from a cornet to be a colonel.

The parliament entrusted him with the important post of being governor of Nottingham Castle; and in 1643, he wrote to his employers, that the Earl of Newcastle had offered him ten thousand pounds to appoint him governor of it under the king, and make it hereditary in his family, and also to create him a baron, if he would surrender it to him for the use of his majesty; all which he had refused.

In the following year, he attacked a part of the king's garrison of Newark, slew Captain Thimbleby, and took fifty prisoners; and the next day, captured more of the loyalists, in which number were twenty gentlemen and officers, with sixty of their horses and furniture.

He was not so fortunate in the year 1645, for a troop of horse from the same place, having stormed a fort upon Trent Bridge, near his gar-

riſon, became maſters of it, and put about forty of them to the ſword.

At this time there exiſted ſome differences between the governor and the committee of the county; and it being ſo great and important a ſituation which he held, it was referred to a committee of both kingdoms to take care for the ſafety of the place.

He was then become a member of the houſe of commons, I preſume for the county, upon the death of his father. A little time after, he had another engagement with the royal troops, and obtaining the advantage, took ſixty horſe and forty-eight priſoners, ſome officers and arms.

As one of the army he was extremely ſolicitous to deſtroy the king, and being appointed one of the commiſſioners of the high court of juſtice, he was both publicly and privately active in the ruin of his unhappy ſovereign, being one of the committee to carry it on, and he ſat every day in the Painted Chamber, and in Weſtminſter Hall, except on the 19th and 25th days of January, and ſigned the warrant for execution.

The parliament, under the control of the army, named him one of the council of ſtate in both 1649 and 1650, but he never more was truſted; a mutual jealouſy taking place, he hated Cromwell, and that great man deſpiſed him; he was deprived of his government of Nottingham Caſtle; and at length it was ordered to be demoliſhed by its laſt governor, Captain Poulton, though it had been repaired at a very great ex-

pence, and rebuilt in a very beautiful manner: it is obſervable, that a great part had been taken down, and the iron, and other materials, ſold by King Charles I. juſt before the civil war.

He was now reduced to the ſtate of a private gentleman, from which the protector would not permit him to again emerge; for when, in 1656, he wiſhed to be returned for the county of Nottingham, he was ſo oppoſed by the government, that he loſt his election.

When the republican government was reſtored, he again took his place in the long parliament that re-aſſembled; and, to the great ſurprize of all, extremely preſſed the houſe to proceed againſt Sir Henry Vane, for not removing into the country, according to their order, though he was, it was known, ſo indiſpoſed, as not to be able without great danger of his life; but at this time he had made his peace, through General Monk, with King Charles II. though it is wonderful by what means, for he had then no government, no important caſtle to deliver up; he was not therefore put in the exceptive clauſe in the bill of indemnity as one of the king's judges, which ſaved himſelf and his family from public diſgrace: but he was too obnoxious to retain his ſeat in the convention parliament, or to go at large; he was therefore ſent priſoner to Deal Caſtle, in Kent, where he died, and his remains were ſent down to Outhorpe, and buried in the vault he had long before prepared when he rebuilt the church. In his religious principles he ſet out as a rigid preſbyterian; he afterwards

became a ſtaunch independent, and probably he died in the communion of the church of England.

By his pardon he was enabled to leave his ſeat and manor of Outhorpe, and the manor of Salterford in the Foreſt, with his acquired property, to his ſon, Charles Hutchinſon, Eſq.; but had he acted with a true patriotiſm, when he ſaw the government likely to be deſtroyed by the ſword, by liſtening to Lord Newcaſtle's propoſition, he might have entailed upon his family a moſt diſtinguiſhed rank and a conſequence, that, once loſt, was never to be regained.

The family ſold their large ſeat and eſtate of Outhorpe about thirty years ſince, when they removed to Woodhall Park, in Hatfield, Herts, which came to them by marriage with the heireſs of the Botelers; but the Rev. Julius Hutcheſon, of Bowes, near Southgate, in Middleſex, about two or three years ago diſpoſed it to the Marquis of Saliſbury, who has pulled down the old manſion, though the repairing of it had coſt that gentleman from three to four thouſand pounds. This information the author received ſince he wrote the life of this regicide, and alſo, that this lineal deſcendant of his is in poſſeſſion of a MS. written by the widow of the guilty Mr. Hutchinſon, relative to the important times in which ſhe lived: it was hoped that it would have been lent, to copy what muſt have been highly gratifying to both the public, and the writer of theſe volumes; but he was not fortunate enough to obtain the peruſal of it.

The Life of RICHARD INGOLDESBY, *Esq.*

RICHARD INGOLDESBY, Esq. was of a very genteel and ancient extraction in Lincolnshire; a relation to the great character Cromwell, and went all the lengths that the army had proposed to themselves.

He was appointed one of the king's judges, but never sat any day except, as he said, casually as he went to speak with some that were there, in the Painted Chamber, where they met to sign the warrant of execution, and that then Cromwell took his hand, and forced him, by guiding the pen whilst he wrote his name; but he forgot to say that his seal was also forced from him, and used.

He followed Oliver in all his fortunes, and was made by him one of the lords of the upper house: at the destruction of the Cromwellian interest, to which he was very faithful, he cordially united in the restoration of monarchy, to which he seemed ever attached after Oliver's dissolution of the long parliament; and pursuing and seizing General Lambert, the head of the republicans, it was so essential a service, that he deservedly obtained the royal pardon, and he was permitted to enjoy the ample estate he had raised out of the distractions of his country; which, as generally happens to ill-acquired wealth, his son and heir dis-

ſipated, and died a penſioner in the Charter-houſe.

It was ſingular that his regiment ſent up to parliament, previous to the king's trial, a petition in the moſt determined language againſt the ſovereign; ſo well had he tutored them; but in ſuch times as theſe were, it was laudable to purchaſe the moſt obnoxious characters. See more of this gentleman and his family in the Cromwell Memoirs.

The Life of HENRY IRETON, *Esq.*

Henry Ireton, Esq. was descended from a good family in Nottinghamshire; he married a daughter of the celebrated Oliver Cromwell, and was one of the first persons in the parliament army, for whose interest he alike used his pen, or his sword; he has been justly called the Cassius of the party; and he was a man that had so great an aversion to the royal power, and such an undaunted temper, that no danger could awe him; and he was by far the most to be dreaded of the whole of the opposers of King Charles I.

He was the busiest of any in this infamous murder of his sovereign; at whose mock trial he was absent only on the 12th, 17th, 18th, 24th, and 25th days, in the Painted Chamber, and he signed the warrant for execution.

He died in 1651, whilst lord deputy of Ireland, of the fatigues occasioned by his attending the siege of Limerick: this, with never changing his cloaths, made him so liable to be infected with the plague, that it co-operated to destroy him.

Ireton was a man dear to the republicans, but extremely hateful to all others; he was a sanguinary, violent man, who seemed to have wrenched from his frame every sentiment of humanity and tenderness.

Had he survived, Cromwell would have had

more difficulty to have brought him into his ambitious ſchemes, than any other. He was the father of that very eccentric character, Mrs. Bendiſh: for the hiſtories of both, I muſt refer my reader to the Cromwell Memoirs.

The Life of JOHN JONES, *Eſq.*

JOHN JONES, Eſq. was a brother-in-law to Cromwell, having married one of his ſiſters; he was undoubtedly a ſoldier of fortune, though he had a ſmall property of his own, which he inherited from his anceſtors. He was entirely in the commonwealth intereſt, which he conſtantly purſued, and no circumſtance of life perhaps was more pleaſing to him, than that in which he ſat as a judge upon his ſovereign.

He attended each day of the mock trial, except on the 10th, 13th, and 18th, in the Painted Chamber, and on the 22d in Weſtminſter Hall, and he ſigned the warrant for deſtroying the devoted monarch.

Overawed by Oliver's ſuperior genius, he acted entirely as he was directed by him, and became one of his lords; he joined the army in deſtroying the power of Richard, vainly flattering himſelf that he ſhould be able, with his aſſociates, to carry on the affairs of the nation in the way of a republic; but the people at length, tired of the confuſion and diſorder occaſioned by the deſtruction of the legal government, with joy returned to where only they could remain in ſafety.

He paid the forfeiture of his crimes, being one of the regicides that was executed at the reſtoration, as an expiation for the blood of a ſovereign,

whom it was his duty to have defended, and not aſſiſted in deſtroying.

This unfortunate man was only raiſed by his alliance with Cromwell to any ſort of conſequence; in himſelf he had neither fortune to command, nor a mind to force the attention of mankind, being a very weak, enthuſiaſtic fanatic. He was executed at Charing-croſs, October 16, 1660. In the Cromwell Memoirs a more particular account is given of him.

The Life of JOHN LAMBERT, *Esq.*

JOHN LAMBERT, Esq. was one of the most conspicuous characters during the interregnum, and in point of military knowledge, equal perhaps to Fairfax, and inferior only to Cromwell.

He declined taking any part in the immediate destruction of the prince, whom his arms had greatly contributed to ruin.

Oliver could not win him over to his interest, though he studied with the greatest care; and after his death he practised the same arts against Fleetwood, which Oliver had towards Fairfax, and with the same success.

But the nation was extremely averse to the continuance of the confusion the want of a regular government had occasioned, and he was in the end sent to the Tower, from whence escaping, he flew to arms, but submitted without resistance to Ingoldsby, who had been sent after him; he was excepted out of the act of indemnity; and died a prisoner in Guernsey.

Had he bounded his ambition, he would undoubtedly have preceded Monk in obtaining the ducal honours; but his aim was the sovereignty; his whole policy had been to have the title and power of protector.

See more of him in the Cromwell Memoirs.

The Life of FRANCIS LASSELS, *Esq.*

FRANCIS LASSELS, Esq. was of a very ancient family in Yorkshire; he resided at Stank near Northallerton in that county, for which he was a committee-man both to the parliament, and the protector Oliver.

He went into the parliament army, and became a colonel; and in September 1648, he, and Colonel Bethel were sent to assist at the siege of Scarborough, because three hundred of the Walloons had been sent thither by the Prince of Wales, and they soon took the castle and town, with many prisoners.

He was intirely in the interest of the army, who procured his name to be put in the commission to try the king, and he sat in the Painted Chamber on January the 8th, 10th, 13th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 22d, 23d, and 25th, and in Westminster Hall the 20th and 22d; but he did not attend on the day when sentence was passed, nor signed the warrant, so that he was in no danger at the restoration, and was returned a member in the convention parliament, though a known republican.

He was probably in himself a very private gentleman, fit for no other employment than the part he took in the army, for his name never occurs but as a committee-man for his own county ever after; perhaps he had retired thither, and chose to reside upon his own paternal estate,

without intereſting himſelf farther in government affairs, from which he was ſo diſtant. He married Frances, daughter of Sir William St. Quintin, created a baronet by King Charles I.

The Life of JOHN LENTHAL, *Esq.*

JOHN LENTHAL, Esq. was of Oxfordshire, the well-known speaker of the house of commons in the long parliament.

The junto who usurped the government could not in decency do less than put his name in the bill for constituting the high court of justice, because they pretended to act under the authority of that very parliament, at which he was the head; but as far as he did go with them, he had too much prudence to do what he knew no law permitted, and what every law forbade.

He survived the restoration and was then in the utmost disgrace; he died soon after with the greatest penitence for the sanction he had given to fraud, force, usurpation, and rapine.

His history is also given in the Cromwell Memoirs.

The Life of ROBERT LILBURNE, *Eſq.*

ROBERT LILBURNE, Eſq. was of very ancient and genteel family in Yorkſhire: he early went into the parliament army, where, by the patronage of Cromwell he roſe to be a colonel; and as his brother the well-known John Lilburne, of factious memory, had been fined for his conduct in the Star Chamber, it gave him a prodigious hatred to the court, and even the perſon of his majeſty.

The regiment he commanded was ſuppoſed to be the moſt mutinous of any in the army, yet they agreed in 1647 to go, if called upon, into Ireland; he with Ireton, Okey, Rich, and Harriſon, were ſoon after appointed to draw up ſome heads of advice to be prefented to the general, by the council of war; ſtating that, "they ac-"knowledged and promiſed due obedience to the "general, and requeſted he would remind the "parliament to conſider, and reſolve thoſe things "which had been preſented to them from the "army, and deſiring that as ſoon as the neceſſary "great affairs ſhould be done, that a period "might be ſet to the parliament."

He defeated Sir Richard Tempeſt in Lancaſhire in the year 1648, where each party ſhewed great valour; he took ſix hundred of the horſe, and three hundred others, and of the priſoners many were knights and gentlemen; a ſignal victory, when his own force was but ſix hundred in all; but, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that a well-

conteſted engagement could be without his loſing ſome, as Whitlock writes.

Finding however, that the Scots were entering England to join Langdale, he prudently drew nearer to Lambert's forces, and throughout the war he ſhewed great bravery and conduct.

Under the immediate direction of Cromwell he ſat as one of the king's judges, and attended in the Painted Chamber on the 15th, 17th, 19th, 23d, 25th, and 27th day of January; and all the days in Weſtminſter Hall; and ſigned the warrant to carry into execution the full completion of the horrid buſineſs.

He attacked the loyal and truly great Earl of Derby in 1651 with three regiments, and defeated his lordſhip at Wiggan in Lancaſhire; and ſo completely, that of one thouſand five hundred men that he brought into the field, he hardly had thirty, when he eſcaped to King Charles II. at Worceſter; th engagement laſted about an hour.

He was in 1653 appointed commander in chief in Scotland, which kingdom he greatly aſſiſted in bringing to abſolute ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh parliament; marching to the very extremity of the highlands, and was every where victorious; he remained there until 1654, and was as true to Cromwell, as he had been to the parliament, and perhaps much more pleaſed in ſerving the latter, than the former.

The protector not only continued him one of the committee of his diviſion in Yorkſhire, and

of the city of York, but gave him very great authority there under Lambert, the major-general; and when that gentleman fell into ſome diſcontent, and was ſuperſeded, that important office was conferred upon him, and he was well adapted for ſuch an odious undertaking, for he packed juries, and was as aſſiduous in privately ruining the royaliſts as he had been openly in the field. When he had ſeized Lord Bellaſyſe at York in 1655, he wrote to Secretary Thurloe, to know his highneſs' farther pleaſure about him; "for as I remember," ſays he, "that he was one "pricked down, I intreat your ſpeedy anſwer "herein, and I ſhall be glad to know what you "do in general with ſuch *kind of cattle*." His conduct was particularly ſevere, eſpecially againſt the *ſcandalous miniſters*, by which we are to underſtand the orthodox loyal clergy.

Lord Fauconberg tells Henry Cromwell, the lord deputy of Ireland, in a letter dated April 20, 1658, that "Colonel Lilburne is at home a mal-"content, becauſe General Monk has changed "ſome of his officers."

Upon the ruin of the protectorial power, he was one of the officers of the army, who went to the ſpeaker Lenthal at the rolls, to acquaint him, that they would reſtore the parliament, and that they were devoted, as they expreſſed it, to the *good old cauſe*; but immediately after he joined the army intereſt, and was one of the council of officers who were to govern, until ſome other means were ſettled.

At the reſtoration he was excepted abſolutely as to life and eſtate, though he had ſurrendered himſelf; he was tried at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, October 16, 1660, and pleaded not guilty; but the facts of ſitting the laſt day, and ſigning the warrant for putting the king to death being proved, he was convicted; and being aſked what he had to ſay why ſentence ſhould not be paſſed, he replied, "I ſhall refer myſelf without "farther trouble to the court; my lord, I beg "the benefit of the proclamation."

Government which was wiſely merciful, remitted the ſentence, and ſent him to the Iſle of St. Nicholas, near Plymouth, where he died in Auguſt 1665, aged 52; happily his father was living at the time of his trial, ſo that his children inherited Tuickley in the biſhoprick of Durham, their grandfather's eſtate, and probably others in Yorkſhire.

This gentleman had two other brothers at leaſt; John, one of them, the plague to King Charles I. the commonwealth, and Oliver the protector, was a lieutenant-colonel; another was Colonel Henry Lilburne, who left the parliament intereſt, and was killed at Tinmouth fighting for King Charles I. dying with great reſolution and gallantry, when deſerted by all his men, "chuſing "rather to fall honourably in that loyal action, "than to live longer under the tyranny and op-"preſſion of the ſectaries," of which his brother John became the champion. Captain Thomas Lilburne was in the ſervice of the protector in

Scotland, and perhaps was another brother, if not, a near relation.

What a complicated misfortune was the civil war to this family, and what a heart-rending grief muſt it have been to their father; even Robert the regicide had little ſatisfaction in his northern tyranny whilſt it laſted, and which would make the laſt ſolitary years of his life paſs with many a ſorrowful, retroſpective ſigh.

The Life of PHILIP *Lord* LISLE.

PHILIP LORD LISLE was the eldeſt ſon and heir of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leiceſter, who oppoſed the government of King Charles I. He conſtantly joined in all the different ones that ſucceeded that monarch's death; but he was never the perſonal enemy, if ſuch a diſtinction is accurate, to the king; and therefore never joined the army, nor the junto of the parliament, in their violent actions againſt the life of that ill-fated monarch. As one of the protector Oliver's lords, his hiſtory appears in the Cromwell Memoirs: I ſhall, therefore, only remark, that he died in peace and honour in 1697-8.

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